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NOTICIAS

DE LA

NUEVA CALIFORNIA

ESCRITAS

POR EL R. P. Fr. FRANcisco Paloù.

TOMO ✶ XXII.

Con 444 foxas utiles.

Title Page of the Figueroa Manuscript of Palóu's Noticias.

Original in the Archivo General, Mexico. Sección de Historia, Vol. XXII.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF
NEW CALIFORNIA

BY

FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU, O.F.M.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH
FROM THE MANUSCRIPT IN THE ARCHIVES OF MEXICO

EDITED BY

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VOLUME I

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Sesquicentennial Edition

Commemorating the 150th Anniversary

of the

Founding of San Francisco

in 1776

THE PUBLICATION OF THIS VOLUME
WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY

SIDNEY M. EHRMAN

PREFACE

The publication of an English edition of Father Palóu's *Noticias de Nueva California* may be regarded as the acknowledgment of a long standing obligation to the great pioneer and author, by the Californians of a later generation who have lived to enjoy the fruits of the civilization whose seeds he planted, and who owe to his pen nearly all that has been popularly known about the history of the heroic days in which Palóu himself was one of the great figures.

The *Noticias* constituted the first general history ever written of the founding of Alta California, or New California, as he loved to call it. It was written before, was the basis for, and is sounder history than the same author's better known *Vida del Padre Serra.* The work has the distinction of being a record composed by an eye-witness, for Palóu came with Serra to the Peninsula (Old California), for four years succeeded him there as president, followed him to Monterey, became the founder of Mission San Francisco or Dolores in 1776, for eight years was its head missionary and principal builder, and when Serra died became president, as he formerly had been vice-president, of all the missions of New California. Few men were in a better position to know than Palóu, and none equalled him in habits of observation and journal keeping. The *Noticias* were written at Mission Carmel and Mission Dolores during a period of ten years. Though the chronicle was concluded in 1783 it has never been available heretofore in the language of the people who have inherited Palóu's legacy.

However, the great merits of the work have long been recognized. Indeed, it has twice been printed in Spanish, although in forms that gave it very limited circulation. When Palóu left California in 1785 he took his manuscript history with him and filed it in the archives of the College of San Fernando, in Mexico City, of which he at once became Superior. Shortly before he died an order came from Madrid asking for the compilation of a great body of historical memoirs on which to base a monumental history of New Spain. Pursuant to this order Fray Francisco García Figueroa, of the College of San Cosme, compiled thirty-two volumes of *Memorias para la Historia de Nueva España.* Two of these volumes comprised Palóu's *Noticias.* The transcript, made from Palóu's autograph manuscript "with all the exactitude permitted by the wretched and difficult handwriting of the original," was certified by Father Figueroa himself on December 3, 1792.

Six decades afterward, in 1857, the *Noticias* were published by the government of Mexico in the great collection of *Documentos para la Historia de México.* It was printed from the Figueroa manuscript, for Palóu's holograph had disappeared. Seventeen years still later, in 1874, a small edition—one hundred copies—was published in San Francisco by John T. Doyle. Not knowing the whereabouts of the manuscript, Doyle merely reprinted the Mexican text, with an occasional emendation based on his own knowledge or recording his own opinions.

Some twenty years ago I examined the original Figueroa manuscript in the archives of Mexico. A comparison of the printed Mexico edition with the manuscript showed a multitude of variations. Palóu wrote a direct and simple style. The Mexican editor, a belated Góngorist, freely substituted "elegant" phrases for Palóu's plain terms. In most cases, to be sure, the sense was not greatly altered,

but the resulting text was by no means a faithful copy, and Doyle's text, as a matter of course, has the same defects. The translation, therefore, has been based directly on the Figueroa manuscript. This manuscript has been laboriously compared with the editions of the Mexican editor and Doyle, which I have designated respectively as M. and D. To justify departure in many places from these printed versions, and incidentally to establish a correct Spanish text, most of the principal variations of M. and D. from the manuscript—several hundred in number—have been indicated in the Editorial Notes.

Palóu's *Noticias* deserves to be read for itself as a work of rare human interest, as well as one of profound informational value. I have therefore chosen to present his narrative as nearly as possible unhampered, and to relegate to the back of the volumes most of the apparatus of technical scholarship. The footnotes are confined chiefly to the very few comments that have seemed desirable to facilitate the reading of Palóu's chronicle.

The Introduction is devoted to a sketch of the life and writings of Father Palóu. Though he figured in California history only less conspicuously than Serra himself, very little has been written about him. As a result he is known to scholars principally as the biographer of Serra, and to the general public not at all. Some day, I predict, he will be the subject, as he deserves to be, of a longer biography than I have had space to give him here.

In the Editorial Notes at the end of the volumes I have supplied extensive data concerning manuscript materials, especially those from the archives of Mexico and Spain, most of which have been gathered since Bancroft and Engelhardt wrote their great books. Of the larger portion of these materials cited there are transcripts in the Bancroft Library, or in my private collection, and this

may be assumed to be the case unless a special reference is given. The transcripts from the archives of Mexico were chiefly gathered by myself during the years when I was preparing my *Guide to the Archives of Mexico.* Many of these materials have been turned over to the Bancroft Library. Some of them were cited by Richman in his *California Under Spain and Mexico,* for all the documents from Mexico listed by him were gathered by me. Some of these Mexican documents were used by the learned Father Engelhardt, who had full access to the Bancroft Library and to my collection. The transcripts from the archives of Spain are largely Hearst Transcripts (gathered by H. Morse Stephens), or documents assembled by Charles Edward Chapman and other Native Sons Travelling Fellows in Pacific Coast History. In the use of these new materials from the archives of Spain Professor Chapman was the pioneer. He drew heavily upon them in his *Founding of Spanish California* and in his *History of California: the Spanish Period,* and most of them are listed in his comprehensive *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias.*

In the Appendices are printed some thirty rare and unpublished letters to or from Father Palóu. The earlier of these documents throw a flood of fresh light on the Franciscan régime in Old California, and on the preparation of the Portolá-Serra expedition to New California; the later ones vivify the story of the pioneer years in New California. Notable documents in the collection are: the graphic letters of Crespi and Ortega telling their personal experiences on the Portolá-Serra expedition, and supplementing the more formal accounts of the diaries; the letters of Palóu to Verger and Serra recounting Palóu's journey to Monterey and what he saw on the way; and the three letters by Palóu to Gálvez and Sancho written at Mission San Carlos telling of Serra's last days and of his death

which had just occurred. From these three letters we get an entirely new view of the circumstances that had called Palóu to Carmel at that time—circumstances of distressing import to Franciscan work in California, and not primarily of personal concern to Serra, as has commonly been supposed.

I have not attempted to make a formal bibliography. To do so would add another volume to this work without forwarding my main purpose. It would call for a complete bibliography of Alta California history for its first two decades. It would embrace all the materials cited by the detailed works of Bancroft and Engelhardt, besides a vast amount of new materials that have come to light since they wrote. On the other hand, most of the older materials can be found listed in the bibliographies of Wagner and Cowan, or in the lists and footnotes of the treatises by Bancroft and Engelhardt, while many of the newer materials can be found in Chapman's *Catalogue* and Bolton's *Guide*.

The present division of the *Noticias* into volumes is not the same as Doyle's. Palóu divides his work into four unequal parts. In Doyle's edition Volume I coincides with Part I, but none of the remaining volumes correspond to Palóu's divisions. In this edition Volume I and Volume IV correspond to Part I and Part IV, and Volumes II and III contain Parts II and III, although Part II runs over into Volume III. This arrangement has the added advantage of closing Volume II with the completion of the first series of five missions, and opening Volume III with Serra's work in Mexico, the main theme of the year 1773. It thus makes the division between Volumes II and III correspond with a distinct historical division in subject matter.

In Volume I Palóu gives a full account of Old California, or Baja California, during the five years of Franciscan labors there. In the remaining three volumes he chronicles the dramatic episode of the founding of New California

from 1769 to 1783. These were the formative years. They witnessed the establishment of the four centers of defense in the province; the founding of the first nine missions; and the passing from the California stage of most of the great pioneer group, Portolá, Anza, Crespi, Serra, Rivera, Moraga, Neve, Vila, Pérez, Hezeta, and Arteaga. Shortly after his chronicle closed, Palóu himself returned to Mexico.

The reader of the *New California* will note in it a double use of the name "Monterey." In the early years of settlement Palóu frequently employed it as an equivalent for Alta California, or New California, to include all the coast country between San Diego and San Francisco Bay. California then was "Old California" and extended to San Diego; the new province beyond that point was Monterey. Gradually this usage was dropped and the term was restricted to the presidio of Monterey and the immediately adjacent country.

For aid in preparing the work I am indebted to several persons, of whom a few deserve special acknowledgment: Mrs. Nellie V. Sánchez assisted with the translation of Palóu's text, and Dr. Lydia M. Lothrop, now of the University of West Virginia, helped with the translation of the Appendices and with the making of the Index. I have frequently sought and obtained the valued counsel of Reverend Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, and Professor Charles E. Chapman, experts in California history. Fathers T. C. Peterson and O. A. Welsh have assisted me in the rendering of Church terms. With Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman, whose generosity made this publication possible, I have advised at each stage of its progress. Mr. Joseph W. Flinn, University Printer, has unsparingly contributed his wise counsel and his great skill in the production of the book.

Herbert Eugene Bolton.

University of California,
October 8, 1926.

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PALOU AND HIS WRITINGS

PALOU AND HIS WRITINGS

Palóu's Early Life

Fray Francisco Palóu was a distinguished son of the Franciscan Province of Mallorca, the fortunate organization which claimed as its founder in the seventeenth century that "sonorous clarion of the Gospel," Fray Antonio Lliñaz; and which produced in the eighteenth century Fray Junípero Serra, of whom Palóu himself wrote, "if this sacred Province had known how to grow a whole grove of such juniper trees, not a single heathen would now remain in all that wide realm of Paganism."[1]

The most conspicuous fact in Palóu's career was his lifelong and intimate association with Serra, that man of resounding fame. This, perhaps, would be honor enough, but Palóu was no mere shadow of any man. With or without Serra, doubtless, he would have emerged to distinction.

[1] Palóu, Fr. Francisco, *Relación de la Vida y Apostólicas Tareas del Venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra, y de las Misiones que fundó en la California Septentrional, y Nuevos Establecimientos de Monterey* (Mexico, 1787), "Carta Dedicatoria." Cited hereafter as Palóu, *Vida del Padre Serra.* For Palóu's early life I have relied largely on his own biography of his great teacher and missionary superior, Junípero Serra, here cited. In that important work Palóu

When a mere youth Serra, of Petra, was sent to study in the monastery of San Francisco at Palma, head of the Province of Mallorca. Having made his profession[1] he taught for three years. Then, after taking his degree in Sacred Theology, he began a long career as professor in the Lullian University, in the same city. "And in it he did his work with great fame as a man of profound learning, to the satisfaction both of the Province and of the University. While in the faculty he saw many of his disciples graduated as doctors." Under the instruction of this great teacher came Francisco Palóu in 1740. This was the beginning of a lifelong association, ending only with the death of Serra, forty-four years later.

Decision to Come to America

Nine years after their first meeting Serra and Palóu were still living in the same monastery, where Palóu was now teaching philosophy.

modestly keeps himself in the background, but the two men were so closely associated that from the account of Serra one can trace Palóu's movements with considerable precision. For Palóu's career from the time when the Franciscans took the place of the Jesuits in California I have assembled and used a large collection of manuscript materials, which greatly supplement the printed sources heretofore available. A few of these are printed as Appendices to Volume IV of this work.

[1] September 15, 1731 (Palóu, *Vida del Padre Serra,* Capítulo I, pp. 4–5).

Portrait of Father Palóu.

From the painting in the Museo Nacional, Mexico. With facsimile of signature.

It was at this time that Serra, Palóu, and Rafael Verger, another son of the island province, almost simultaneously were seized with a desire to come to America as missionaries. According to Palóu the impulse first came to Serra, and was communicated to the others by mysterious means. Not knowing the origin of the urge, Verger and Palóu often talked about it. Then, in Palóu's cell, Serra and Palóu broached their wish to each other almost in the same breath. Palóu spoke first. When Serra heard what his disciple proposed, tears sprang into his eyes, "not of sorrow . . . but of joy." Then and there they agreed to cast lots together in America. Palóu adds, writing thirty-five years later, "It was due to the prayers of my Reverend Father Lector Junípero that I find myself among the missionaries for the propagation of the Faith."[1]

Joins a Missionary Band

Plans moved rapidly now. Serra, having found in his pupil a boon companion, applied for a license for the two to come to America. Sympathetic, the commissioner-general, Fray Matías de Velasco, generously gave his aid. At the time it happened that two Franciscan missions were being raised for New Spain, one by the College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro, the

[1] *Ibid.*, Cap. II, 6–7.

other by the sister College of San Fernando de Mexico. Still the prospect was not good, for the quotas had already been filled in Andalusía; but some of the recruits had backed out "on account of their fear of the ocean which they had never seen."[1] This made room for Serra and Palóu, for whom licenses reached Palóu at Palma on March 30, 1749. Serra at the time was preaching in his native town. Palóu started forthwith to Petra, and "that night delivered the license into the hands of the reverend Father Junípero, whose joy and happiness were greater than if he had received a call to some bishopric."

Preparations for the voyage began at once. While Serra finished his Lenten services, Palóu returned to Palma and arranged for transportation on a packet-boat bound for Málaga. On April 13 Serra and Palóu kissed the feet of their brothers in the monastery, said good-bye forever, went down to the docks, and embarked. On the way they were pestered by the contentious English sea captain, an "obstinate heretic" who insisted on arguing about religious dogmas. Once when routed in polemics he threatened to throw Palóu and Serra overboard. Unafraid, Palóu defied him and he desisted. They were a fortnight on the voyage to Málaga. Then, after a week's delay spent in a monastery there,

[1] *Ibid.*, Cap. II, 10–11.

they embarked in a coasting vessel and reached the old Phoenician city of Cádiz on the 7th of May.

Good news awaited them here. Three more friars were needed for the San Fernando mission, for five had withdrawn. Serra and Palóu seized the opportunity and proposed the names of their dearest friends. Licenses were sent to Palma, and with them came Rafael Verger, Guillermo Vicens, and Juan Crespi, the last-named being another favorite pupil of Serra. Thus was completed the great trio which was destined to plant the Faith in New California—Serra, Palóu, and Crespi.[1]

The Journey to Mexico

The missionaries came to America in two groups. In the first vessel sailed Serra and Palóu; Crespi, arriving late at Cádiz, came with the second. The voyage to Vera Cruz lasted only one day less than a hundred. In that long and tedious journey "there were not lacking vexations and alarms." In the small space of the vessel there had to be accommodated not only the Franciscan company, twenty-one friars,

1 Palóu, *Vida del Padre Serra,* Cap. III, 13–14; Palóu, *Historical Memoirs of New California,* II, 295 (my citations to Palóu's *Noticias* in these notes are to the English version here published. It will be cited hereafter as *New California.*

but likewise a similar group of Dominicans bound for America. At San Juan Puerto Rico a stop of two weeks was made, during which the Franciscans were lodged at a hermitage outside the city. Idleness was avoided by holding a mission, headed by the fervent Serra. The day after landing, at nightfall, a score of Franciscans scattered about the city "in order to take it by storm with homilies and pious ejaculations, and then marched to the Cathedral." The crowd followed; and before the two weeks were over every citizen in the place had confessed.[1] Such a spiritual refreshing old San Juan had not had for many a month.

On the way to Vera Cruz a hurricane toyed with the frail vessel. A norther then drove it back to the Campeche coast. There a harder storm caught it from the other side, and the passengers gave themselves up for lost. But all were saved, said Palóu, through the intercession of Santa Bárbara, to whom they turned. In gratitude, and to fulfill the vows made in their distress, as soon as they landed in Vera Cruz Franciscans and Dominicans joined in a procession in honor of the saint with the beautiful name.

When Palóu now first set his foot on American soil he was a frank faced youth of twenty-

[1] Palóu, *Vida del Padre Serra,* Cap. III, 14–15.

seven, just on the threshold of his best manhood, a Mallorcan of refinement, education, and good stock. Such men as he Spain gave in large numbers to bring Faith and civilization to the wilds of America, both North and South.

At Vera Cruz Palóu was brought to the verge of death by the unhealthy climate, but he denies us the details. For the journey to Mexico City horses and provisions were furnished at the king's expense, but Serra, bent on self-discipline —and being a poor horseman—followed the long, steep trail of Cortés over the mountains on foot, with a single companion. It was during this journey that he suffered an infection in his leg, by a mosquito bite, Palóu thought, from which he never recovered.[1]

In the Sierra Gorda

In Mexico, at that day the metropolis of the Western Hemisphere, Serra, Palóu, Crespi, and the rest, became members of the College of San Fernando. Although the walls of the old monastery have mostly disappeared with the march of time, the church of San Fernando still stands

[1] *Ibid.*, Cap. IV. At a later day Joseph de Gálvez, writing to Father Serra about a long horseback ride which Serra had recently taken from La Paz to Loreto in Lower California said, "Let us turn now to the present business, for I am fatigued, and your Reverence must also be worn out, or even ill, being a poor horseman for such a long journey." (Gálvez to Serra, La Paz, March 28, 1769.)

in the heart of the city, near the Alameda. This venerable temple, from which came Serra and all that early host of spiritual conquerors, is a shrine toward which the feet of many Californians will wander.

A sojourn of five months in the College, and then our trio were sent to the Sierra Gorda, that rough mountain wilderness northeast of Querétaro inhabited by the Pames. On one slope the Dominicans had missions, on the other the Augustinians. In the highest reaches the Franciscans maintained five, and of these Serra was now made president. Palóu went as his companion, and Crespi was assigned to a neighboring station.

For Palóu this was the beginning of a missionary work of nearly forty years in America. He and Serra left Mexico for the Sierra Gorda in June, 1750. Though saddle horses were provided, Serra as usual preferred to walk, and Palóu loyally trudged beside him. After travelling wearily north more than two hundred miles, much of the way over mountain trails, on June 16 they arrived at the head mission of Jalpan, welcomed by a thousand friendly neophytes. Here at Jalpan Serra and Palóu lived and labored together for the next nine years. Aided by Palóu, Crespi, and other zealous friars, Serra set the Pamería on fire. During all this time

Palóu was his main reliance. In his biography of Serra, Palóu recounts the many marvels wrought there by his master, but he does not add that in all of them the modest disciple shared in full measure.[1]

Called to Texas

When these nine years of hard service in the rugged mountains had passed, Serra's brilliant career at Jalpan closed. At that time the wild Comanches destroyed the mission of San Sabá and murdered two missionaries, in what is now central Texas. The College of San Fernando was asked for two friars to replace them, and Serra and Palóu were chosen. The Texas plan was set aside and the Comanches were deprived of such precious prey, but Serra left Jalpan for good. Palóu took his place as president and spent another year there, disclosing "great talent for management, not only of these missions, but of other matters of importance." Then he, too, withdrew to the College, where he served as vicar and discreto, "and as a perfect missionary among the faithful."[2] In such activities

[1] Palóu, *Vida del Padre Serra,* Caps. VI–VIII.

[2] Bolton, Herbert E., *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1915), 88; Morfi, Fray Juan, *Memorias para la Historia de Texas* (MS.), Bk. X, pars. 48, 49, 51; Arricivita, Fray Juan Domingo, *Crónica Seráfica y Apostólica del Colegio de Propaganda Fide,* 379–380; Palóu, *Vida del Padre Serra,* Caps. IX, X, XI, 40–43.

both Serra and Palóu spent the next seven years, while Crespi remained to toil in the Sierra Gorda. Then suddenly all three were sent to California.

Sent to the Peninsula of California

Carlos Tercero in 1767 decreed that all Jesuits must forthwith be expelled from Spanish domains. To fill their places in Lower California the viceroy appealed to the College of San Fernando. The response was favorable and Serra was put at the head of the band of fourteen Fernandinos that were offered. Among the number were both Palóu and Crespi; the trio were again reunited.

In July the historic journey was begun. On the 16th Serra, Palóu, and seven others left the College in the Aztec city and set out for San Blas to embark for the Peninsula. Going over the Camino Real, by way of Querétaro and Guadalaxara, they climbed the majestic Sierra Madre and descended to Tepic in the Tierra Caliente on the Pacific Coast, to await a sailing date. They were lodged in the Franciscan hospice of Santa Cruz, where they were soon joined by five other Fernandinos from the Sierra Gorda. Among the five was Crespi, who now

A present-day view of Mission San Xavier, Baja California.

From North, *Camp and Camino in Lower California.*

closed a career of seventeen years among the Pames.[1]

This was a time of complete reorganization in California—Baja California, of course, for Alta California had not yet been occupied. "Old" and "New" California Palóu called them, and these are the terms that we shall use. Don Gaspar de Portolá, a seasoned Catalán warrior, was just now on his way to the Peninsula, accompanied by a red-coated troop, to be its first governor. Shortly after the friars reached Tepic, Don Gaspar sailed for his post from the nearby harbor of Matanchel. At Serra's eager request Fathers Palóu and Gastón were taken aboard, and on August 24 they weighed anchor. One might have predicted then and there that Palóu, with his companion, Gastón, would be the first of the Franciscan band to reach California. But Fate intervened. Three days later, off Cape Corrientes, the voyagers encountered a heavy storm, were nearly wrecked, and returned to port. Thence Palóu and Gastón made their way back to Tepic.[2]

[1] Palóu tells the story of this journey in his *New California*, I, chap. 1, where he gives the names of the friars who went from Mexico City. They were Serra, Palóu, Morán, Martínez, Gastón, Parrón, Sancho de la Torre, Gómez, and Villaumbrales. The five who went from the Sierra Gorda to join them were Campa, Ramos de Lora, Lasuén, Murguía, and Crespi.

[2] Palóu, *New California*, I, 7–10.

Leaving Palóu in charge as acting president, Serra now went to Matanchel to make further arrangements for the sailing of his friars. During his absence the disconcerting report came from Mexico that the Fernandinos were to be displaced in California by friars of the Province of Xalisco. Palóu, aroused, sent a courier to Serra with the news, and while they waited he and his comrades wrote a warmly-worded protest to their College. Serra returned and a conference was held. The outcome was characteristic; Palóu again became Serra's main reliance. He, with a companion, was chosen to hurry to Guanaxuato to appeal to the visitor-general, José de Gálvez, the powerful man in charge of the reorganization of California and the suppression of an Indian revolt in Sonora.

Armed with the proper documents, Fathers Palóu and Campa started back on the weary journey over the mountains. At Guanaxuato Palóu had his first meeting with the great Gálvez. The visitor took the side of the Fernandinos in the case and sent them on to Mexico with a letter to the viceroy. When they arrived Croix promptly revoked the objectionable order. Palóu again fared forth, now with three companions, and once more crossed the Sierra Madre to Tepic.[1]

[1] They set out from Guanaxuato on October 6; reached Mexico on November 9; and arrived at Tepic once more on December 6 (Palóu,

Delays ensued, for transportation to California was a serious problem. The coast was stormy and ships were few and leaky. Palóu's eagerness to get to his new field of endeavor is reflected in his correspondence. To a note of irritation in one of his letters Gálvez replied that matters were being rushed, and added, "I beg that your Reverence will in the meantime have patience." This virtue was made easier by a new occupation that now offered. Not to waste golden moments, during the wait for the vessels the eager Serra and his friars conducted a mission *entre fieles* in Tepic and neighboring towns. Together with Fathers Campa and Medina Veitía, Palóu was assigned to Compostela, the historic old capital of Nueva Galicia where, perhaps, even then they heard folk-tales of its illustrious founder Hernán Cortés and the days of the Conquista. Just when they had finished the mission, Serra summoned them to Tepic to sail on the *Concepción,* which had arrived at San Blas bringing sixteen expelled Jesuits from California. Going to San Blas, on March 14 the now sixteen Fernandinos em-

New California, Vol. I, 14–16). Much light is thrown on the sojourn of the Fernandinos at Tepic and on Palóu's return to Mexico in the following letters: Serra to the Guardian, Tepic, Oct. 1, 1767; twelve Fernandinos to the Guardian, Tepic, Oct. 12, 1767; Palóu to the Guardian, Tepic, Oct. 12, 1767; Palóu and Campa to the Guardian, Guadalaxara, Oct. 25, 1767. (Manuscripts in the archives of Mexico, of which there are transcripts in the Bancroft Library.)

barked, and on April 1 they reached Loreto, the capital of California, where they were welcomed by Governor Portolá and his soldiery.[1] Gálvez followed a few weeks behind the friars.

Missionary at San Xavier

A new world awaited the Brown Robes. In the allotment of places Palóu was assigned to San Xavier, the mission built and made famous by the giant Jesuit Ugarte, and the station nearest to Loreto, head mission and residence of Serra. Crespi was sent to Purísima Concepción, one of the finest missions on the Peninsula and one of those nearest his two friends. On April 6 Palóu set out for San Xavier, accompanied by thirteen companions, for his mission was on the road to all the others, whether in the North or in the South. Leaving the cactus covered coast flats, these pilgrims entered a long winding arroyo. Then deserting its bed they ascended a rough trail into the Sierra Giganta and threaded the steep-walled Gorge of Los Parros. Facing about now for one last look, they beheld a superb vista of sloping plains, lofty cliffs, pinnacled picachos, "ferns, wild grapevines, and mesquit," with the Sea of Cortés beyond. Crossing the divide they descended to Mission

[1] Gálvez to Palóu, February 13, 1768; Palóu, *New California*, I, 17–20.

San Xavier, whose ruins are still "a splendid stone structure, rich in noble elegance of Moorish and Romanesque architecture, and worthy of the name of the most beautiful mission church on the Pacific coast."[1] After a day's rest the others passed on, leaving Palóu to labor with his Indians.

This lonely mountain mission was Palóu's home now for a year. The best way to understand his life there is to watch him at his daily work. For a few months he was occupied in the routine tasks characteristic of a mission on the barren Peninsula. At first only the spiritualities were in his charge, for on the expulsion of the Jesuits the temporalities—the economic affairs—had been entrusted to soldier commissioners, and bad work they had made of them, so bad indeed that when Gálvez arrived he promptly restored them to the missionaries. Then Palóu became both priest and business manager.

So long as Gálvez was on the Peninsula Palóu was in close correspondence with him and enjoyed his friendship. The instances of their coöperation are too numerous to mention. He aided the visitor in the removal of part of the San Xavier Indians to the more prosperous mission of San José del Cabo. In one of his letters

[1] *Ibid.*, I, 26–28; North, Arthur W., *Camp and Camino in Lower California*, 219.

Gálvez approves Palóu's plans regarding vineyards, and instructs him to send surplus wine, brandy, figs, and raisins from the mission by the monthly ship to Sonora, for sale to the troops.[1] Trustfully he calls on Palóu for eighteen or twenty yokes of oxen, and some stone cutters for use in the South, and for twelve or fourteen pack mules for service at Loreto. In all these dealings there was a warm personal note. "Your Reverence will see in these requests the confidence and friendship with which I treat you. Please treat me in the same way," wrote Gálvez.[2]

President of the Peninsular Missions

Gálvez's great business on the Peninsula was the preparation of an expedition by land and sea to occupy the distant harbor of Monterey, lest it be seized by the Russians. In October (1768) Serra went to Santa Ana to confer with the visitor-general. Then and there it was decided that Fray Junípero should go with the land expedition, leaving Palóu in charge of the Peninsular missions.

Crespi had already gone to San Diego with Captain Rivera, and the paths of Serra and

[1] Gálvez to Palóu, Santa Ana, October 31, 1768.

[2] Palóu, *New California*, I, 41; Gálvez to Palóu, October 31, 1768. "I am glad that your Reverence thinks as well of my measures for the games and tobacco as you say in your first letter, and as you assure me in regard to the other things that I am doing. In this you do me too much honor."

Palóu now diverged, to be reunited five years later. Near the end of March Serra left Loreto and started north for San Diego with Portolá. On his way, at Mission San Xavier, he tarried three days with Palóu. "Reason enough for my detention," he writes, "was the very especial and mutual love between myself and the minister, the Reverend Father Francisco Palóu, my disciple."[1] During these days the old comrades talked of times gone by in beloved Mallorca, and planned together for management during Serra's absence—for he expected to return to Loreto. Henceforth Palóu was president in Old California till he left for San Diego over four years later. Franciscan achievements in the Peninsula were largely the work of Palóu.

Gálvez now turned to Palóu as he had turned to Serra. He promised before leaving California to visit him at San Xavier, "for I greatly esteem the sons of that mission, and I truly love its present minister." With boyish enthusiasm and familiar terms he wrote to him of his preparations for the Monterey expedition. Palóu delighted him by writing[2] that the Indians of Santa María, the northernmost mission, had seen the San Diego-bound packets, *San Carlos*

[1] *Diary of Junípero Serra: Loreto to San Diego, March 28–June 30, 1769,* entries for March 29–31 (Translation by Chas. F. Lummis, *Out West,* Vols. XVI–XVII. Facsimile of the original in my collection).

[2] On March 28.

and *San Antonio,* in their mission's latitude—a mistaken report, perhaps—and that Serra had started north, "his foot somewhat improved."

Palóu's part in launching the New California enterprise was highly important, and he did not yield to Gálvez in enthusiasm or ability. Much of the equipment was taken from the missions of Old California, and Palóu was there as business manager to gather and forward supplies by ship or by pack train, as the case might be. Ahead of Serra had gone Rivera, gathering stock for the new missions and for the journey. From his own mission ranch Palóu furnished him sixteen mules and four good horses. As Serra proceeded north he set aside church vestments and ornaments, sending them to Loreto to be shipped by Palóu to San Diego and Monterey. Of church equipment Palóu made Serra a liberal gift. Similar donations were made by all the missions that could spare them. "All the foregoing I received at Loreto," writes Palóu, "and, after boxing it up, by order of the visitor-general I delivered it to the captain of the bark *San José.*" This gives us a glimpse of the busy Palóu hard at work directing manual tasks, carefully packing precious fabrics and ornaments, perhaps using hammer and nails with his own seasoned hands.[1]

[1] Palóu, *New California,* I, 60–62.

Carrying out his promise, Gálvez visited Loreto. Palóu was there to meet him, having come over the rugged mountain trail from San Xavier for the purpose. At Gálvez's request he now moved to Loreto, the capital of the province, the better to look after supplies for San Diego, and to restore the run-down mission. With him he took part of his devoted "Xavieriños."

Gálvez left for Sonora[1] and Palóu's responsibilities increased. Distance, too, lessened the erstwhile harmony between the friar and the soldier. When he left, Gálvez issued new decrees for the management of the missions. With some of them Palóu was displeased, for they took from the missions important means of support, and in his dilemma he appealed to Armona, the new governor. Difficulties already great were made mountains by an epidemic which struck the Peninsula. Garnered in the harvest of death was one of Palóu's best missionaries, Fray Juan Morán, of Mission San José del Cabo, the first of the Franciscan band to make the supreme sacrifice. This was only the beginning of discouragements. Next came a scourge of measles which wrought dismaying havoc; then in quick succession a third epidemic followed. By this time the missions were decimated and Palóu was in despair. One might well suppose

[1] Gálvez reached Loreto on April 22 and sailed for Sonora on May 1.

that the Peninsula had already suffered enough, but it was now struck by a plague of locusts, by hurricanes, and by floods. The northern missions especially were hit. So badly crippled was Mulegé, in fact, that Palóu proposed to abandon it.[1]

Meanwhile the visitor, overwhelmed with his own tasks in Sonora, went violently insane, and Palóu's troubles multiplied. Gálvez in his right mind was eccentric, but Gálvez demented was a human tiger. He sent the California missions a liberal present of clothing for the Indians, but offset this relief by new orders from Sonora providing that Indians might be drafted into the royal service without pay. Coming on the heels of the epidemics, this was almost a finishing blow.

But Palóu was a good fighter. He had defied the blustering sea captain, and he was not afraid of the visitor, either sane or crazy. When the royal commissary tried to put the order into force he refused to furnish the Indians requested, taking the ground that the document must be spurious, and could not have come from the liberal-handed Gálvez.[2] Nor did he rest here, but appealed for help to his colleagues on the Peninsula. Acting on their advice, he

[1] Palóu, *New California*, I, 83; Palóu to Armona, October 6, 1770.

[2] Palóu, *New California*, I, 89–91.

protested by renouncing the temporal care of the missions. When Father Ramos, his messenger, reached Sonora, Gálvez had gone to Chihuahua for his health. Failing after a long chase to overtake him, Father Ramos returned to Loreto. Palóu thereupon sent Father Basterra to Mexico with an appeal to the College.[1] Gálvez reached the capital ahead of Father Basterra, better of his illness. He was friendly now and promised everything, though he failed to keep his word. Of his own demands Palóu remarks, "I had no other aim than the welfare of the missions in charge of the friars of my College, and regard for the honor of my apostolic institute." These he could not disregard, even for friendship's sake.

Till he left for Spain Gálvez continued to correspond with Palóu in friendly tone, and not always about mission affairs, for the great visitor had more engaging concerns. In one letter he requested Palóu to send him "the largest and most exquisite" pearl that the Loreto Indians might gather. It was for the Princess of Asturias, who had begged from Gálvez such a favor.[2] In his reply Palóu had little encouragement for the visitor in the matter of the pearls, since the catch was always precarious. Gálvez's

[1] March 25, 1771. Palóu, *New California*, I, 95, 121.

[2] Gálvez to Palóu, November 9, 1770.

letter was confidential, but I have exposed it here, trusting that the great Spaniard, after this lapse of time, will find grace to forgive me for this bit of gossip.

Rifts will be found even in the darkest clouds. News of Portolá's successful occupation of Monterey[1] sent up California stocks. The church bells of Mexico were rung in rejoicing and the viceroy went to the Cathedral in official regalia with all his retinue. Thirty new missionaries were granted, ten for the old missions on the Peninsula, ten for new ones there, and ten for New California. To President Palóu, of course, fell the task of distributing the twenty sent to the Peninsula.

Ahead of the new friars came a new governor. This man, Felipe Barry, became Palóu's *bête noir*. At first everything was harmonious between them. Barry paraded his love for the friars, and with Palóu he planned for the new missions in the north. Then a breach arose over an uprising in Todos Santos. Palóu and Barry disputed questions of authority, while the Indians were clever enough to play upon the governor's jealousy of the missionaries. Palóu spoke plain words, and sent Father Escudero with an appeal to his College. The guardian, Palóu's old friend Verger, in turn appealed to the viceroy. New orders were issued to curb the

[1] In June, 1770.

governor, but they only served to increase his anger. Undaunted, Palóu kept the trail to Mexico hot with messengers of protest and appeal. He was not quarrelsome, but anxious and firm. Barry's opposition continued and Father Ramos was sent to Mexico with another protest. And thus the friction continued intermittently till Palóu left the Peninsula.[1] His was no bed of roses.

The beginning of the end of Palóu's troubles in Old California was in sight. Father Ramos's arrival in Mexico accelerated a movement already in progress for the relinquishment of the missions of Old California. Ever since the expulsion of the Jesuits the Dominicans had asked for a place there. By a concordat now the Franciscans turned over to the preaching friars the entire Peninsula. They had asked for a part and were given the whole. New California was now the Land of Promise, and the Peninsula was not regretted by the Franciscans. When the Fernandinos heard the news they rejoiced. Palóu and his companions now often spoke of Old California as "that exile."

[1] Palóu, *New California*, I, 139–151, 157–162.

Closing Out Peninsular Affairs

But Palóu's labors in the Peninsula were by no means at an end. It was left for him as president to close out Franciscan affairs there, and this proved to be no easy task. News of the change reached him in August.[1] He hurried it to the missionaries, and directed them to prepare to depart. One friar was left in each mission to await the Dominicans; eight were destined for New California; the rest were called to Loreto to await a chance to embark for Mexico. Some, weary of the hard life, were glad to return to the peace and quiet of monastic walls; others, younger or stronger, thrilled with the hope of spiritual conquests in New California.

As to Palóu's own future Serra wrote to him from San Blas, while on his way to Mexico: "If your Reverence decides that we shall live and die together there it will be a great consolation to me; but I only say that your Reverence must do as God may inspire you, and I shall conform to His will." This was a call that Palóu could not withstand, and he decided to be one of the eight northward bound.[2]

[1] This was in 1772, three years after Serra and Portolá had reached San Diego.

[2] Palóu, *New California*, I, 261, 263. Immediately after his arrival at Mission San Carlos Palóu wrote to Serra: "I have come here because of what your Reverence wrote me by the hand of Father

He had still another half year of busy days on the Peninsula, however—days of comings and goings, and of preparations, rounding up mules, loading launches, making inventories, welcoming Dominicans, bidding Franciscans God speed. Ten Dominicans arrived at Loreto in October. Five days later six Franciscans sailed from the same harbor for Mexico. In December two more left. Bustling about, Palóu balanced accounts, delivered to the Dominicans the equipment for five new Peninsular missions, and turned over the lists of goods sent to aid New California. Here Barry again made trouble by telling the Dominicans that the Franciscans had sacked the old missions for the new; and again Palóu defended the honor of his College, the mettle of his weapons still good.

There were many things to think of. It was settled that Palóu in travelling north should assemble twenty-five families of mission Indians to take to New California to aid in the work there. Father Campa was to be left in Loreto to bring up a drove of cattle for the missions

Echaso from the monastery of Guadalaxara, begging me to come, and using Most Holy Mary and the wounds of our Holy Father San Francisco as intercessors, telling me that if God did not take your life, you would return so that we might end our days together. I have done what your Reverence begged, and I hope that you will carry out what you promised me, and if this cannot be, that we shall surely see each other in a short while, for if it had not been for that letter I should now be in that sacred retreat.'' (Palóu to Serra, Mission San Carlos, November 26, 1773).

after the fall rains began. Having closed out affairs, Palóu anxiously awaited the coming of the rest of the Dominicans, who were greatly delayed. His heart was now in the north with Serra and Crespi. At last on May 12, 1773, eighteen more Dominicans arrived on the *Lauretana.* "It was a day of great joy . . ." he writes, "because the hour drew near for us to leave that exile."[1]

The Journey to Monterey

Taking supplies for Monterey, on May 24 Palóu sailed in a launch for Mulegé. Debarking there he continued north through the missions, delivering them to the Dominicans, gathering up his Indian families, and assembling the friars who were to accompany him to San Diego. On July 13 Fathers Amurrio, Murguía, Prestamero, Fuster, Cambón, and Palóu were united at San Fernando de Vellicatá, the northernmost Peninsular mission, and, indeed, the only one founded there by the Franciscans.

Here Palóu's plans changed somewhat. Next to hardihood frontier life demands adaptability, and this quality Palóu did not lack. It was learned that the transport *San Carlos* had suffered a mishap, and that supplies for San Diego would be delayed. Humanity was a first con-

[1] Palóu, *New California,* I, 278–290.

sideration. So Palóu left part of his Indian families, and loaded the mules thus released with supplies for the hungry Spaniards at San Diego. Cambón remained behind, to follow later with another pack train of provisions.

At last the day for starting came. The long period of anxious delay was over. Water bags were filled, saddle girths were cinched, and packs were adjusted; the bugle sounded and the caravan fared forth. On July 21, 1773, Palóu, the four other friars, six Indian families, and fourteen soldiers under Lieutenant Ortega, Portolá's pathfinder, set out north over the rough mountain trail, still difficult but well marked now by many journeys of pack trains and couriers. Palóu's company was another little colony, led forth to cut the trail deeper and to contribute to the making of the new province which was being planted for the king in the northern wilderness. Three soldiers were sent ahead to carry dispatches to San Diego. They arrived safely, and halfway on the road Palóu's party was met by Fathers Paterna and Peña with mules to relieve the way-worn animals of the north-bound pack train.

One incident of the journey was memorable above the rest. On August 19th the caravan reached the point designated in the concordat as the boundary between Dominicans and Franciscans. Here Palóu and Ortega halted and

enacted a ceremony of more enduring influence than they could have foreseen. From a large alder tree growing beside a stream they made a cross and set it up on a rock beside the trail. On its arms an inscription read: "Dividing Line Between the Missions of Our Father Santo Domingo and those of Our Father San Francisco, 1773." The concordat and Palóu's cross had lasting effects on the political map of North America, for this boundary, first marked by Palóu, helped to fix the present international border line between Mexico and the United States.[1] The lone rock where the historic scene was enacted still stands plainly visible beside the trail, a monument to the deeds of the plucky pioneers who subdued the distant wilderness for God and the King.[2]

Acting President in New California

Burdens have a canny way of alighting on shoulders that can bear them; and in New California Palóu immediately stepped into a position of responsibility. Serra was still absent in Mexico, and Palóu became acting president as soon as he reached San Diego. He began his work by distributing the new missionaries whom

[1] *Ibid.*, I, 291–301.

[2] The rock on which the cross was erected was identified by Professor Geo. W. Hendry, of the University of California, in the summer of 1926.

he had brought and changing the location of others—for even obedient friars have individual tastes and aptitudes. While at San Diego Palóu assisted in seeking a new site for mission fields in the valley of San Diego River; and he "had the happiness, with extraordinary jubilation, . . . of baptizing eight heathen." The food problem was still pressing, and before starting north he assembled and sent south a *recua* of eighty-two mules to bring more supplies.

On September 26 Palóu left San Diego over what was now the Camino Real. San Gabriel was reached on October 2; San Luís on October 25; San Antonio on November 6; and Monterey on the 13th. The long journey from Loreto had consumed nearly half a year. Once more two of the famous missionary trio were now united. "About a league before reaching the royal presidio of Monterey," says Palóu, "I met Father Preacher Fray Juan Crespi, who had come from the mission of San Carlos to meet us. The pleasure that I felt on seeing him was great, for we grew up together as children, and studied together almost from our A B C's until we finished theology, and it had now been almost five years since we had seen each other."[1]

Next day Palóu reached Mission San Carlos, one of his ambitions at last fulfilled. Again he wrote: "I could not contain my pleasure on find-

[1] Palóu, *New California*, I, 308–312.

ing myself now in Monterey, the dream of years, for I can say with perfect truth that not only since the conquest was begun, but even from the year 1750, when I read in Father Torquemada of the voyage of Sebastián Vizcaíno, I was so impressed with the idea of the conversion of the Indians of Monterey that I would have come with greater pleasure to these missions than I felt that same year when obedience sent me to convert the Pame Indians of the Sierra Gorda. And now after so long a time God has been pleased that I should obtain this special favor.'"[1]

Palóu's energy quickened New California affairs. Serra had given them new life by his vigorous efforts in Mexico, and Palóu now contributed a fresh impulse. His first important task after reaching Monterey was to make a report on the missions. On his way north from San Diego he had made careful notes on each establishment. Now, at Monterey, he sat down and incorporated them into a general report and dispatched it to Mexico. Pleased with the showing, Viceroy Bucareli was stimulated to give increased support to New California. "And now I am satisfied," he wrote to Palóu, "that, since your Reverence is completely possessed by the spirit of his royal purposes and that of an apostolic friar, my measures and those of your

[1] *Ibid.*, I, 313.

institute will be perfectly fulfilled, and that in a short time the prosperity of that land and its inhabitants will come to be general.'"[1]

Founding Mission San Francisco

Serra returned and Palóu devoted himself to historical writing. But he was eager for the active missionary field, and his work was cut out for him. San Francisco was his destiny. The great harbor within the Golden Gate awaited him. Portolá had stumbled upon the bay; Fages and Crespi had explored its eastern shores; but only gradually did its full significance dawn upon them. Drake's, or Cermeño's, Bay (called San Francisco) had long been known to mariners. But fog intervened, and no Golden Gate with a noble harbor behind it was on any map. At first it was assumed that the new-found water had an outlet into Cermeño's Bay; and it was long called the "Estuary" of that harbor. But the Estuary was a nuisance, for it blocked the way to Cermeño's Bay, which was known to the books. Portolá tried to go round it in 1769. Fages essayed it the next year but turned back from the site of Oakland or Berkeley. Two years later Fages and Crespi made another attempt and reached the head of Suisun Bay. Strange to

[1] *Ibid.*, III, 241. Palóu's report is printed in the same volume pp. 213–240.

say, Cermeño's Bay was still the main objective. Thus does tradition regarding the old obscure the significance of the new. But gradually it was seen that the new-found bay was a mighty harbor, and ere long the name San Francisco was transferred from the unimportant old inlet to the superb new one.

Monterey Bay had been occupied because Russia threatened. How much more important was it to protect this vastly greater harbor farther north! So while Serra was in Mexico it was decided to occupy the new San Francisco Bay with a presidio and two missions. Intrepid Anza facilitated the step by opening a trail overland from Sonora to Monterey early in 1774. Of his plans Bucareli then wrote to Palóu as acting president, charging him to report all progress in the exploration of the great harbor. "Ready and prompt I am, your Excellency," replied Palóu, "as far as my strength may reach . . . in the prosecution of this holy project."[1]

Rivera, the new captain, came with orders to make another expedition to San Francisco Bay. Palóu went with him to keep a diary and help select sites for two missions, to be called San Francisco and Santa Clara. This is the expedition that first links Palóu with San Francisco and its traditions. To the Santa Clara Valley they followed closely the route marked

[1] *Ibid.*, III, 244.

out by Fages and Crespi on two former journeys. Turning to the left now, they crossed the great valley and camped on San Francisquito Creek near the tall redwood tree (*palo alto*) from which the city of Palo Alto gets its name. The place pleased Palóu, and he proposed it as the site for Mission San Francisco. There he and Rivera erected a cross, "fixing in it our earnest desires to found on this same site a church dedicated to my Seraphic Father San Francisco."[1] Plans were changed, but the name San Francisquito still clings to the creek.

As they ascended the Peninsula, Palóu made friends with the timid Indians, in preparation for his work among them. To a boy of twenty, whom he called The Sorrowful,[2] he completely lost his heart. All along the trail the traveller today sees mementos of that first journey of Mission San Francisco's founder. On the way they saw and named Lake San Andrés. Passing Lake Merced, on December 4, 1774, they crossed the sand dunes, followed the beach to Seal Rocks, ascended the cliffs near Cliff House, made astronomical observations of the Golden Gate, and on Point Lobos set up another cross. They had come provisioned for forty days, but December was stormy, so they returned to Monterey by the seashore over Portolá's trail. Palóu's excellent

[1] *Ibid.*, III, 267.

[2] *Ibid.*, III, 271–274.

diary of this expedition is one of the precious treasures of early California.[1]

Anza now brought from Sonora to Monterey a colony of soldier settlers for San Francisco, the germ of a great city that was to rise behind the Golden Gate. Ayala, in the *San Carlos,* was sent to explore the bay by water. With Hezeta and Father Campa Palóu went by land to cooperate in selecting sites. But they arrived too late, for, climbing to Point Lobos once more, they found at the foot of Palóu's cross two letters telling that Ayala had come, explored the bay, and gone.[2]

The final choice of sites on the bay was made by Anza. Leaving his colony at Monterey, with Lieutenant Moraga and Father Font he reëxplored the harbor. At Point Lobos they visited Father Palóu's cross. On the white cliff where the Golden Gate is narrowest they chose a site for the presidio. A league away, on an arroyo called Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, they marked a spot for Mission San Francisco. Near the head of the bay, fifty miles to the southeast, amid the flood-plains of Guadalupe River, they selected a location for Mission Santa Clara. Returning to Monterey, Anza left California forever,[3] but his memory still abides, and his

[1] It is printed in *New California,* III, 249–307.

[2] *Ibid.,* IV, 39–43.

[3] *Ibid.,* IV, 91–93.

place in history each year is becoming more distinct.

The founding of the presidio and mission of San Francisco fell to Lieutenant Moraga and Father Palóu, for Governor Rivera and President Serra were called south to settle troubles at San Diego and to found Mission San Juan Capistrano. On that memorable June 17, 1776, Anza's little colony set forth from Monterey, Moraga in command, and Fathers Palóu and Cambón in charge of mission equipment and stock. Rivera had given orders to defer the founding of the mission. Nevertheless, the actual mission beginnings antedated those of the presidio. To await supplies coming by sea, Moraga and his colony on June 27 made camp on the mission site, at Laguna de los Dolores.[1] This was the beginning of permanent settlement at San Francisco. The first building erected was a shelter of branches to serve as a chapel. In it Father Palóu said the first Mass on June 29.

For a month the colony remained in camp at Dolores. Meanwhile the mission plant was taking form. Moraga reëxplored the presidio site and the soldiers cut timber in the hills. Then, on July 26, while the missionaries and six soldiers with their families remained at Dolores to continue with the mission, Moraga moved the

[1] Also called Arroyo de los Dolores. *Ibid.*, IV, 92, 120.

rest of the colony to the presidio site. There a temporary chapel was built, and Palóu said the first Mass on July 28. When Quiros came by water with provisions he detailed part of his men to assist with the mission buildings. On September 17 Palóu took part in the formal dedication of the presidio. While Father Cambón went with a party to reëxplore the bay, Palóu remained to supervise the work on the mission. On October 3 the mission chapel was blessed. The plan had been to dedicate it appropriately on St. Francis's Day, October 4. But Moraga was absent on the tour of exploration, and the ceremony was postponed. On the 7th he returned, and on the 8th the mission was formally dedicated. Palóu, the superior, said Mass, and, to celebrate, the people killed two beeves and had a barbecue. And so Father Palóu became the founder of the mission dedicated to the patron saint of his order and situated on the bay with the Golden Gate.[1]

Missionary at San Francisco

For nine years now Palóu was head missionary at San Francisco, or Dolores, as it came to be popularly known. With Palóu are associated all its earliest traditions. The title pages of its first books of record are all in his familiar hand-

[1] *Ibid.*, IV, 118–134.

writing.[1] He baptized not only the first but most of the neophytes for all these nine years. He laid the cornerstone of the permanent church, which still stands. It was Palóu who served as host to visiting missionaries, governors, and naval officers who from time to time brought diversion and color to the life of the little frontier settlement. It was Palóu who waged for Dolores the perennial battles with soldiers and governors which most missions had to fight. It is from the writings of Palóu that we get the most that we know of the early history of San Francisco.

Dolores was never one of California's most prosperous missions, and Palóu had his full meed of troubles, not unmixed with the joys that will come now and then to any good workman. At first there was no interpreter, and it was difficult to make friends with the natives. The work was scarcely well begun when the San Mateo Indians attacked a village near Dolores and drove the inhabitants across the bay to the north and to the east. In turn the Dolores Indians became hostile. A fight with the mission guard occurred, the Indians fled, and did not return for three months. As a consequence the first three baptisms at the mission were made only after nearly a year had passed.[2]

1 Engelhardt, *San Francisco, or Mission Dolores,* 65–68.

2 Palóu, *New California,* IV, 135–138.

Dolores did not prove to be a highly fertile spot, and, though relations with the natives improved, Palóu refrained from settling a large number of them at the mission because he lacked supplies for their subsistence. In a letter to Governor Neve he and Father Murguía, of Santa Clara, tell us how they were handicapped by mere lack of food. San Francisco, like Jamestown, had its starving time. The first year Palóu had no means to support any neophytes, and he therefore confined his work to visits among the villages to baptize the dying. The second year crops promised better and Palóu began to keep and instruct a few boys. But when the harvest proved disappointing he checked his desires and ceased adding to his small flock, which he was able to carry through the year only by the aid of twelve bushels of corn furnished by Governor Neve.

Sometimes in those days Palóu said things about San Francisco which would not be included in the "literature" sent out by the Californians Incorporated. He now wrote, "The yield of wheat has not reached half the quantity expected. Beans have not yielded enough seed for planting. As to the corn, which is still in the field, it is exposed to much damage from worms, moles, birds, stealing, and, what is worse, from frosts, which even this very morning killed

two portions of a little field. Hence we shall not be able to support the new Christians, nor those who are actually under instruction and nearly ready for Baptism which they anxiously desire.'"[1]

Palóu was now a man past fifty. He wrote very little about himself, but as he goes about his daily tasks and participates in the life of the little settlement we catch glimpses of his placid face, his broad hat, and his corded brown robe. The monotony of missionary routine was broken by arrivals and departures, some welcome, some causing grief. As soon as Commander Rivera returned from San Diego he paid Mission Dolores a visit and pleased Palóu with a word of praise.[2] The founding of Mission Santa Clara, half a year the junior of Dolores, created a diversion of pleasure mixed with sadness, for, on their way from the presidio the soldiers and families, led by Lieutenant Moraga, spent the night at Dolores,[3] and next day bade farewell to their beloved Father Palóu.[4] When Neve, the new governor, reached his post at Monterey, he hurried to visit San Francisco, spending May Day at the Mission.[5] A few days later (May 12)

[1] Palóu and Murguía to Neve, October 12, 1778. Quoted in Engelhardt, *San Francisco, or Mission Dolores,* 88.

[2] November, 1776. Palóu, *New California,* IV, 155.

[3] January 5, 1777. *Ibid.,* IV, 159.

[4] Engelhardt, *San Francisco, or Mission Dolores,* 70.

[5] 1777. Palóu, *New California,* IV, 163.

the packet *Santiago* arrived from San Blas with supplies, and during its stay in the harbor the life of mission and presidio was quickened by the presence of officers and crew.[1] In the autumn Serra surprised Palóu by coming unannounced[2] to Dolores on his first journey to the great harbor. He pleased the residents by saying High Mass on the Feast of St. Francis, and delighted his old friend and pupil by remaining with him ten days.

Next year when the *Santiago* came it brought not only food, drink, and merriment, but disturbing reports as well. Unrest was caused by the news that the northern provinces of New Spain, including California, had been cut off from the viceroyalty, and put under a military commander at Chihuahua. More distressing to Palóu was the report that the California missions were to be taken from his beloved College of San Fernando and formed into a custodia. Some comfort was found in the provision that the good Viceroy Bucareli was still responsible for furnishing the mission supplies.[3]

One day the explorer Bodega y Quadra, returning from his voyage to Alaska, anchored in the harbor, and brought good cheer. On board

[1] Palóu, *ibid.*, IV, 164.

[2] October 1.

[3] Engelhardt, *San Francisco, or Mission Dolores,* 71–73; Palóu, *New California,* IV, 170, 181.

his vessel, the *Favorita,* he had a painting of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios.[1] In thanksgiving for escape from death in the many-periled voyage, he now presented the treasured image to Mission Dolores. Palóu eagerly accepted the gift, and with formal ceremony, participated in by everybody from ships, presidio, and mission, he installed it on the main altar. It was a red letter day in the calendar of Palóu's humble mission.[2]

A fortnight after this celebration Father Serra made his second visit to Dolores, on his first tour of confirmations. To meet him and show him honor Palóu went to Santa Clara with an escort of soldiers. Serra arrived on October 15 and remained until November 6. During his stay he confirmed one hundred and eighty-nine Spaniards and Indians, and baptized twelve mission neophytes. These three weeks were precious days for the old friends, who had four decades of mutual recollections to recount. But their pleasure was marred by news of the death of their staunchest friend and protector, Viceroy Bucareli, and of the declaration of war with England, as well as by the departure from

[1] Our Lady of Help.

[2] October 3, 1779. Palóu, *New California,* IV, 184. While the *Favorita* was in the harbor Palóu baptized three Alaska Indians brought by the explorers (Engelhardt, *San Francisco, or Mission Dolores,* 75–76).

Dolores of Palóu's companion, Cambón, on account of illness.[1]

Another autumn day[2] Palóu's heart was gladdened by the visit of both Serra and Crespi. Serra was on his second tour of confirmation. Crespi went to see Palóu and his mission and to look once more on the beautiful harbor of which he had been one of the discoverers. The treasured visit lasted twelve days.[3] It was a joyful meeting and a sad parting. "I was exceedingly glad to see my beloved fellow disciples," writes Palóu. "Both left for Mission Santa Clara, filling my heart and theirs too with grief, for the pain of saying farewell was quite as great as the joy with which I welcomed them on their arrival." For Crespi this was a final farewell; and it was the last meeting of the three together. A few days after reaching his mission of San Carlos Crespi fell ill. He died on January 1, 1782, having served thirty years among the Indians, sixteen in the Sierra Gorda and fourteen in California.[4]

Far away on the Pacific Coast, Palóu and his mission suffered from the war with England which broke out in 1779 and in which Spain recovered Florida and aided the English colo-

[1] Palóu, *Ibid.*, IV, 185–186.

[2] In 1781.

[3] From October 28 to November 9.

[4] Palóu, *Vida del Padre Serra*, Cap. L; *New California*, IV, 193–194.

nies in their rebellion. Because of it the supply ship *Santiago* was four months late in 1780. Fearing to be overhauled by the English, perhaps, it unloaded the San Francisco supplies at Monterey, and Palóu was therefore obliged to send pack mules thither for provisions. Next year the *Santiago* failed to come at all, because the English blockaded the harbor of San Blas and kept the Spaniards bottled up. For these reasons Mission Dolores, now with nearly two hundred hungry neophytes to feed, was put on short rations.

Undaunted by want of provisions or the death of his friend, Palóu planned for the future. This took faith and courage, but Palóu lacked neither. Shortly after the departure of Serra and Crespi he laid the corner stone of a new church—the present church of Mission Dolores. The dedication ceremony was enacted on April 25, 1782. The modest Palóu does not tell of it in his books, but the formal record in his own hand can still be seen in the old Baptismal Register of the Mission. San Francisco was out in her brightest spring colors. To participate in the notable event Palóu's friend of three decades, Father Murguía, came up from Santa Clara. Commander Moraga rode over the trail from the presidio with officers and soldiers and acted as sponsor. To add interest to the occasion and to invoke blessings, the pit of the

corner stone was appropriately filled with coins and sacred relics, and then sealed. The precious record of the historic ceremony is signed by Moraga and the three friars, Fathers Palóu, Santa María, and Murguía.[1]

At Dolores Palóu had ample opportunity to exercise his rôle of Defender of the Faith. By the Reglamento of 1773 the California missionaries were allowed double rations for the first five years of a mission's existence. When Dolores was only two years old and Santa Clara even younger, on technical grounds Governor Neve ordered these rations stopped. Thereupon Palóu and Murguía drew up a forceful protest, showing Neve the illegality of his act, and its disastrous effect upon the infant missions by the bay.

Father Palóu's charity had no limits; nevertheless, he knew how to resent needless bulldozing. It was customary for him and Father Cambón to go voluntarily to the presidio to say Mass on feast days and to administer the Sacraments. Neve stopped furnishing the double rations, but not for this did the friars suspend their visits. Neve refused to permit the presidio herdsmen to look after the horses of the friars which ran with the presidio herd; he declined to let the soldiers going from mission to mission carry the letters of the friars free of postal charges; still

[1] Engelhardt, *San Francisco, or Mission Dolores,* 98–102.

the missionaries went voluntarily to the presidio to say Mass. But when reports came from Mexico that Neve, now ex-governor, was trying to force the Dolores friars to go to the presidio as a matter of obligation, Palóu and Cambón stopped rendering their voluntary services. Governor Fages appealed in behalf of the citizens. Thereupon the friars in no uncertain tone informed him that they would not give their time "as cheaply as that gentleman intends," and "henceforth the people of the presidio must come over the road to hear Mass." They would still go charitably to the presidio to help in case of sickness, and to administer the sacraments entirely free of charge. This was voluntary; but to do more they would not be driven.[1] And driven they were not.

The din of battle was not a sure sign of personal hostility. Friars and officials might dispute principles loudly, and yet be the best of compadres. Such was the case with Palóu and Fages. They quarrelled and then embraced. Indeed, one of the amenities of San Francisco life at this period was the residence of Governor Fages and his wife at Palóu's mission. They were his guests for four months, during which time Doña Eulalia's daughter María del Carmen was born there and was baptized by Palóu.[2]

1 Palóu and Cambón to Fages, January 8, 1783.

2 August 4, 1784.

Fages was pleased with the mission, "and gave a fine example to those neophytes and soldiers." With his conduct and presence much was accomplished. "May God reward him," wrote Palóu.[1]

Shortly before this it was[2] that Palóu had been gladdened by a third visit from Father Serra, who was now completing his last tour of confirmations at the chain of missions which he had strung on the Camino Real up the California coast. Joy was again mixed with sorrow, for while Serra was there Palóu was called to Santa Clara to bury Father Murguía, one of the original band who had come with Palóu and Serra to the Peninsula and with Palóu to Monterey. Serra followed Palóu to Santa Clara and together they dedicated the new church, then the best in California.[3]

A report made at the end of 1784 for Mission Dolores[4] summarizes Palóu's achievements there shortly before he departed. It is an impressive record under the circumstances. Though Dolores was still one of the smaller missions, much had been accomplished since that first autumn, the time when the timid Indians had fled across the bay. Under the beneficent administration of himself and Father Cambón four hundred and

[1] Palóu to Sancho, September 13, 1784.

[2] May 4, 1784; Palóu, *Vida del Padre Serra,* Cap. LVII.

[3] Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* II, 399–400.

[4] December 31, 1784.

eight persons had been baptized. There had been ninety burials, and there were still two hundred and sixty neophytes living at the mission. It had six hundred and fourteen head of cattle, three hundred and sixty sheep and goats, thirty-nine mares and colts, sixteen mules, and twelve horses. The last harvest had produced two hundred and sixty-two fanegas of wheat, two hundred and thirty-three of barley, one hundred and twenty-three of maize, twelve of beans, four of lentils, and seven of peas.[1] The creation of such a plant out of nothing and its successful management in the midst of difficulties was in itself a substantial achievement. It was the full equivalent of founding, financing, and administering a good-sized industrial college today.

Writing the Noticias de Nueva California

In the midst of all his active duties, Father Palóu found time to use his pen. Indeed, it is for his writing that he is best known, and for this his fame will perhaps always be greatest. While he explored, ran a farm, managed mule trains, built a church, baptized infants, solemnized marriages, and went on errands of mercy to Indian villages and to the presidio, he made a practice of chronicling contemporary happen-

[1] See a facsimile of the report in Engelhardt, *San Francisco, or Mission Dolores*, 105.

ings. These records he called *Noticias de Nueva California.* As he tells us in his Foreword, they are "a collection of memoirs of Old California for the time when its missions were administered by the missionaries of the Regular Observance of Our Seraphic Father San Fernando de Mexico; and of the new missions which those missionaries founded in the new establishments of San Diego and Monterey." His purpose was "to note down whatever has happened and may happen . . . in this new vineyard of the Lord," so that the official historian might have a record of the deeds of his College of San Fernando "assembled in one volume, or more if there is that much to record."[1]

From the time of his arrival in Monterey in the fall of 1773 Palóu kept his chronicle more or less regularly for the next ten years. All through the *Noticias* there is scattered internal evidence that the work was composed thus gradually, from time to time. He arranged it in four parts. In Part I he tells of Franciscan activities in Old California (the Peninsula) from the expulsion of the Jesuits to the time when Palóu closed out Franciscan affairs and came to Monterey. Parts II, III, and IV carry the story of New California to 1783.

Apparently all of this great work was written in New California, at Mission Carmel and Mis-

[1] Palóu, *New California,* I, Author's Foreword.

sion Dolores.[1] Much the greater portion of it was composed at Carmel, where Palóu had leisure to write while waiting to go to his post at San Francisco. Internal evidence indicates that at Carmel he composed his account of happenings in the Peninsula after he left there, his own journey to Monterey, his first report of the missions of New California, the exploring expeditions of Anza, Pérez, Rivera and himself in 1774, of Hezeta, Ayala and himself in 1775, and of the uprising at San Diego in the same year.[2]

At Mission Dolores Palóu continued the *Noticias,* giving first hand or contemporary accounts of the founding of San Francisco,[3] renewed explorations of the bay, troubles with the Indians, Serra's journey to reëstablish Mission San Diego and to found San Juan Capistrano, the founding of Mission Santa Clara and of the Pueblo of San José, the movements of the supply ships, the Arteaga exploring expedition to Alaska, the effects of the war with England, the Yuma uprising, the founding of San Buenaventura and Santa Bárbara, the return of Fages to

[1] Certainly that part which deals with events that happened or of which he learned after leaving the Peninsula in the summer of 1773. Indeed, for events that occurred after the occupation of Monterey in 1770 he must have obtained much of his data after reaching Monterey.

[2] See Palóu, *New California,* III, 114, 207, 212, 240, 247, 312, IV, 74.

[3] It is not certain whether he wrote the account of the second Anza expedition at Mission Carmel or at Dolores.

the governorship, and the news of the custodia. His last entry in the *Noticias* was for July 6, 1783.

The *Noticias* is a monumental work, and its writing was a great achievement. Composed by an eye-witness of most of the events he chronicles —*quorum pars magna fuit,* as Figueroa said—it has the authority of a primary source. Palóu's aim was to keep a faithful record for the archive of his College without any thought of immediate publication. Nearly one-half of the work consists of original documents by which his narrative is authenticated. Some of these records are not available now in any other form. Indeed, the *Noticias* still constitute the best single source for the history of California during its pioneer period, the sixteen years from 1767 to 1783.[1]

Ordered to Mexico

Father Palóu had long been anxious to leave California and return to Mexico. He was worn out with toil. He thought himself old. In 1780 he fell ill and was nearly incapacitated for missionary tasks. He therefore appealed to the College for permission to retire. It was granted, but a series of mishaps made it impossible to take advantage of the license. The first year,

[1] Printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico,* Cuarta Série, Tomos VI–VII (Mexico, 1857); reprinted by John T. Doyle, San Francisco, 1874.

because of the war, there was no vessel; the next, Father Cambón was absent, and there was no one to take his place. In 1783 two supernumeraries arrived and prospects were better. Then the plan for a California custodia became active, and an order came that all friars must remain at their posts until relieved.

In despair Palóu sat down one August day and wrote for help to his old friend Gálvez, who was now in Spain in the high office of Minister of the Indies. He reminded Gálvez of his friendly promises, and asked him a favor, namely, "that I be not prevented from retiring to the College of San Fernando, seeing that I find myself so much broken down, as your Excellency may imagine from my advanced age of sixty-one, and a missionary life of thirty-four in these kingdoms, twenty-six of which were among the Infidels, ten in the Sierra Gorda and the rest in these Californias." He reviewed his three years of ill health, his efforts to get away, and the reasons for his failure. Now the custodia plan had again deferred his hopes. "Not to disobey said precept, or the decree of his Majesty which commands the same, I have remained," he said.

But he feared that he would soon be too frail to make the long journey to Mexico, and he begged Gálvez to intercede, "protesting in all

candor and truth," he added, "that I have no motive for retiring except my advanced age and want of strength to discharge the ministry among the heathen, which requires stout health for the many necessary journeys, which will be increased by the Triennial Chapters required . . . after the erection of the Custodia." The shadow of the custodia, as well as that of his frail health, hung over him.[1] Gálvez kept his promise and interceded. Thus urged, the king ordered[2] that Father Palóu be relieved at once, and that he return to Mexico on the vessel bringing friars to take his place. But before the royal order came a great change had occurred in California. How it came about we learn from a rare file of hitherto unpublished letters written by Palóu at the time.

Serra as well as Palóu was badly worried over the impending custodia. News came from the College that the Dominicans were coming from Old California to replace the Franciscans. Father Sancho, the guardian, wrote Serra that according to rumor they might arrive in New California as soon as his letter. With this disturbing rumor Father Sancho sent Palóu renewed permission to return to Mexico if Serra saw fit. With a contest in sight, Palóu was needed at the capital. Serra replied that Palóu

[1] Palóu to Gálvez, San Francisco, August 15, 1784.

[2] October 5, 1784.

would start at once in Captain Cañizares's ship which was now in the harbor of San Francisco. Then he wrote to Palóu.[1]

On August 5, 1784, Palóu received the message at Dolores. It contained Sancho's provisional order to return to Mexico. Serra hinted also that he wished to discuss Sancho's report that the Dominicans were coming, and added, "It would be well to keep the decision to yourself and come this way."[2] Palóu prepared to start at once. The ship in the harbor was soon to sail, but he did not wait for it; he would go to Monterey and board it there. He told of his errand to no one but Father Cambón, "and in order to conceal it the more" he sent by the ship "only a chest with the manuscripts and what was absolutely necessary for my voyage." We may infer that the "manuscripts" were the precious *Noticias*. "With only some blankets" and his breviary he set out overland for Monterey.[3] Stopping at Santa Clara to celebrate the Assumption, he told the fathers there that he was leaving California, with the charge to keep it secret till the proper time.[4] He reached Monterey August 18, and found Serra "happy and with no other ill health than his old lung trouble,

1 Palóu to Gálvez, September 6, 1784.

2 Palóu to Fray Juan Sancho, Monterey, September 7, 1784.

3 On August 9.

4 Palóu to Sancho, September 13, 1784.

and the swelling of the feet from which . . . he had suffered for more than twenty years.'"[1]

Serra at once opened the matter for which he had called Palóu—the custodia and the coming of the Dominicans. He told Palóu that he must take advantage of his leave and hurry to Mexico, so that "as one familiar with the affairs of the mission" he "might be able to give testimony, and if necessary, go to Madrid to work for the honor of the College and all the missionaries in these missions." This was a forbidding prospect for the man of sixty-two, in those days of hard travel. Palóu expressed regret at leaving, for Serra was failing, but the old master insisted, and the disciple agreed to go in the ship to Mexico. This having been settled, they proceeded to discuss details, talking over plans for delivering the missions, if the news of "this second expulsion" should prove true.[2]

On August 22 Cañizares sailed into the harbor of Monterey, and Palóu's preparations for departure were quickened. But plans were suddenly altered. That night Serra was taken with a mild fever which became alarming on the 27th. Next day he walked a hundred yards to the church, but at night he was so ill that Palóu

[1] Palóu to Sancho, September 7, 1784.

[2] Palóu to Gálvez, September 6. The real business of Serra and Palóu in these last days together has never before been told. From Palóu's letters it is evident that Serra died thinking that his friars were to be replaced by the Dominicans.

administered extreme unction to him. Next day he was able to visit in his cell with his old friend Cañizares, commander of the packet in the harbor. That night, the 28th, Palóu left his cell for a short time, and when he returned, he says, "I found him already sleeping in the Lord."[1] Serra had foreseen the end, for on the day before his death, unknown to his friends, he sent for the presidio carpenter and ordered his own coffin made. On the 29th, in the presence of a sorrowing concourse, the funeral was held and Serra's body buried. "All were eager to honor the deceased, the royal presidio as well as the packet which was anchored in the bay, whose captain . . . had him paid the honors of a general."[2] May it not be that the great apostle's demise was hastened by grief at the prospect of separation from his beloved companion, and the circumstances that seemed to make it necessary?

President in New California

Palóu's plans were now changed. By virtue of Serra's death he became president once more. Serra had commanded, "While I live, go on" to Mexico. Did not this mean that if Serra died Palóu must remain till someone came to relieve him? The fathers at San Carlos told him, and those at Dolores and Santa Clara wrote him, that

1 Palóu to Sancho, September 7, 1784.
2 Palóu to Sancho, September 7, 1784.

he ought not to go. "If the blow of expulsion were to come," they argued, Palóu would arrive in Mexico too late to prevent it, "and if I went they might say I had run away from the Dominican fathers."[1]

Palóu decided therefore to remain and await, with the rest, "the heavy blow" of expulsion. He sent to the friars in the South instructions for making inventories and delivering the missions, in case the order came. In the spirit of Serra he admonished them to "try to act in all matters in conformity with the honor of this sacred College." To Father Sancho he wrote begging that in case the Franciscans remained he would send more friars, for companionship and to relieve those who might wish to retire.

New regulations for the missions had just arrived, and some of them worried Palóu. But he took comfort in Fages's support. "None of these plans will suit the present governor. . . . Much less will he agree to the plans for the guard. . . . As for the plan of the Dominicans, he likewise says that he wishes that they would ask him for a report, since he has seen all the missions of Old and New California, and he would state what he has seen of the management of both orders."[2]

So Palóu went back to Dolores and awaited a successor. But he was heart-sick now and he

[1] Palóu to Sancho, September 13, 1784.

[2] Palóu to Sancho, September 13, 1784.

longed to get away. Crespi had gone; Serra had gone; Murguía had gone; and the future was in doubt. In November Palóu was still "momentarily expecting" expulsion by the Dominicans. But duty to San Francisco ruled him. "I have had to conquer myself," he wrote, "in order to have patience and not go with the Philippine bark; but I am restrained by the wish not to leave this mission with only one minister, for in the rainy season, which has now begun, it is impossible to travel even from here to Santa Clara."[1] In ill health, in discouragement, he refused to desert San Francisco, the mission he had created.

Writing the Vida del Padre Serra

With the coming of early spring Palóu's skies brightened once more, and he found fresh inspiration that enabled him, by a magnificent labor of love, to crown his long years of service in California by writing a great book destined to give enduring fame to himself, to Serra, his idolized master, and to the remarkable chain of missions which had been the scene of their joint labors. His last days in California were days of golden harvest.

By the middle of 1783 Palóu's hand had become weary. Just before he appealed to Gál-

[1] Palóu to Sancho, November 9, 1784.

vez to take him out of California he had ceased writing his *Noticias*. Bancroft makes it appear that when he suspended this chronicle it was to work on his life of Serra, but such was not the case, as is clear from the plain traces which Palóu left. For a year and more his quill was idle, whether from ill health or from discouragement. It was Serra's death that started the ink to flow once more from his pen.

How it came about we are told plainly by Palóu himself in this same file of unpublished letters. Two weeks after Serra's death he wrote to Father Sancho apologizing for the brevity of the account of that sad event, adding, "I intend to write at greater length, since I am not myself at present because of the sorrow his death has caused me, and because there is much to be said of the exemplary deeds and virtues of my honored father lector. Then, if God gives me life and ability to write what I wish, he may be known to the edification of all." Here was the germ of a plan to write a eulogy of the great Serra.

In the same letter he suggests that Serra's death scene should be painted. He wished especially to record the impressive episode in the church of San Carlos in which he himself had given Serra the viaticum. "The most edifying scene would be to have him wearing his stole, and kneeling before an altar of Our Lady with the

Child in her arms, and a priest vested with a cope before the altar with a small Host for giving him the viaticum, and coming from the lips of the dead father in verse the words *Tantum Ergo,* with many Indians and Leather-jackets with their candles in their hands. In case you think well of it I will write by the land post suggesting the title that might be put beneath it." Palóu's heart was doubtless warmed when Sancho immediately replied, "The picture of the deceased Fray Junípero is being painted at the expense of his Reverence, Bishop Verger."[1] Thus another of Serra's disciples ran to do him honor.

Palóu's plan to write a life of Serra did not take final shape all at once, as he tells us in the *Vida* itself. There he recounts Serra's dying wish that his brethren in Spain might know about the apostolic labors of the friars in California. "A little later," he tells us, he set about sending Serra's diary thither. "But, afterwards, considering that the reader would be very curious to know what was the outcome of those journeys and the fruit for which this great laborer in the vineyard of the Lord had so intensely yearned, I resolved that I could best fulfill his desire by myself taking pen in hand and writing this account." Still he had a long struggle, fearing his unworthiness. But, finally,

[1] Palóu to Sancho, September 13, 1784; Sancho to Palóu, Mexico, February 6, 1785.

supported by the writings of Saint Gregory and Saint Bernard, and "animated by the united voice" of his companion friars, and by his sense of duty to his great teacher and his Province of Mallorca, he modestly took up his pen. The dedication of his book was dated at Mission San Francisco, New California, February 28, 1785. Bancroft takes this to mean that the *Vida* was finished at that date, but the tone of the dedicatory letter clearly implies, and other circumstances indicate, that it was begun instead of completed on that date.[1]

Superior of the College of San Fernando

News traveled slowly in those days, and Palóu waited a year for a successor in the presidency. This gave him time to complete his life of Serra. Father Sancho reported what had been done in Mexico. Palóu's companions doubtless expected that he would be made permanent president, the guardian said, and he had been very wise to remain at his post. But Sancho had just received royal orders that Palóu should go to Mexico as soon as possible. Therefore Father Lasuén, of Mission San Gabriel, had been named president on that very day. Sancho accordingly ordered Palóu to turn over to Lasuén all official

[1] Palóu, *Vida del Padre Serra*, "Carta Dedicatoria"; *Life of Serra*, James *ed.*, Dedicatory Letter, xxiv-xxv.

papers needed for his guidance, instruct and advise him in his duties, and return to Mexico at the first opportunity.[1] He added, however, "I hope that your Reverence will try to get the best accommodations . . . and will not hurry too much."[2]

Palóu promptly carried out his new orders.[3] Before he left, one final incident at Dolores emphasized the impression that the old régime was at an end. This was the death of José Joaquín Moraga, presidio commander. Together Palóu and Moraga had laid the foundations of San Francisco, one of the mission and the other of the presidio. Together for nine years the two had moulded the life of the little post which later was to grow into a great metropolis. Now, on the eve of Palóu's departure from California

[1] Sancho to Palóu, February 6, 1785; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* II, 403, citing letter of Sancho to Lasuén, February 7, 1785.

[2] Sancho was still worried about the Dominicans. To Lasuén he wrote that when a Dominican went to Gálvez to present the plan, "he was greatly displeased." Hence, said Sancho, "concerning this I conclude, unless I am mistaken, that nothing will be done." Concerning the custodia he had no more information. But if Lasuén heard anything about either Dominicans or custodia he requested Lasuén to let him know. In case of the change, Sancho instructed Lasuén to quietly make the delivery, by inventory, take receipts, and return to the College. "But if nothing of this is done, as I hope, you will strive as always to labor in the Vineyard of the Lord, following the path that hitherto has been taken." He hoped that by the end of the year the matter would be settled.

[3] They presumably arrived in the summer packet from San Blas.

forever, Moraga, too, took his final leave. On July 13 the commander was called to eternal rest. On the 15th Palóu conducted his funeral services, and the record of his death is the last made by him in the Burial Register. His final entry in the Baptismal Register was made ten days later.[1] The pioneer band of California builders was fast being depleted.

Shortly after this Palóu went to Monterey,[2] and from there he sailed for San Blas.[3] Somewhere on his way he wrote to the king of his departure from California.[4] On his way from San Blas he was stricken with a fever, which forced him to stop for recovery at the College of Santa Cruz, in Querétaro.[5]

Before Palóu reached Mexico he was overtaken by California troubles. He had scarcely departed when—or perhaps on the same ship—Fages sent to the viceroy a long series of formal

[1] On July 25. Engelhardt, *San Francisco, or Mission Dolores,* 105–106.

[2] There he made his last entry in the records on September 7. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* II, 404.

[3] Bancroft, citing *Prov. Rec. MS.,* III, 56, notes that on October 3 Fages, at Monterey, wrote to Palóu wishing him a pleasant voyage. Bancroft, *California,* I, 474, discussing the date of Palóu's departure.

[4] Gálvez to Palóu, Aranjuez, July 1, 1786.

[5] Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* II, 404–405; citing Sancho to Lasuén, April 1, 1786. The Bancroft Library extract in *Arch. Sta. Bárbara,* XI, omits the part concerning Palóu. The letter in *Arch. Sta. Bárbara,* XII, mentions Palóu's arrival in Mexico on February 21, after suffering from a fever.

complaints against the missionaries.[1] The charges had to do with the perennial quarrels between friars and governors, and need not be recounted here. When Palóu reached the College they were awaiting him, and Father Sancho referred them to him for an answer. With his accustomed firmness and vigor the veteran missionary answered them all, and in company with Father Sancho he presented his reply to the viceroy.[2] He was still the good warrior of old.

Palóu had hoped for rest, but his manifest usefulness made rest for him impossible. He was destined not to rust out, but to wear out in service. He was now the one friar in the College most experienced in missionary affairs. He had served in missions thirty years. He had been president in the Sierra Gorda, on the Peninsula, and in New California. A crisis was on. He was the man who knew; and he had proved his fighting qualities. It is not strange, then, that while he was still in the infirmary he was elected Superior of the College.[3] He demurred verbally and he protested in writing. He urged his uselessness and his ill health. Still his associates insisted, and so, he writes, "obliged by obedience

1 They were dated September 26. Bancroft, *California,* I, 401; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* II, 416.

2 Sancho to Lasuén, April 1, 1786, in *Arch. Sta. Bárbara,* XII, 29; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* II, 416; Bancroft, *California,* I, 401–404.

3 Palóu to Lasuén, August 16, 1786. *Arch. Sta. Bárbara,* XII, 31.

I took on my tired shoulders the heavy cross of the guardianship.'"[1] If official position is a sure sign of success Palóu had achieved it. He was now head of his organization.[2]

As Superior he turned to the question of the impending custodia as well as to Fages's charges. To Lasuén he wrote that good reports from California had made a profound impression on the king and council, and on Trujillo, the commissary-general, a relative of Gálvez, "who is hostile to the custodia project." Areche, a member of the royal council, had talked "at length and with great energy in favor of this College and its missions and against the project" of the custodia, which gradually petered out. "Let us give thanks to God," adds Palóu with a sigh of relief.[3]

While he and Fages wrote friendly personal letters, Palóu kept up the fight with him on principles. Neither one need be charged with hypocrisy. To Trujillo Palóu appealed for

[1] On July 4 he reported his election in friendly letters to Lasuén and Fages, his old friends, and the two men in California at the two extremes of the dispute into which his bark was now launched. Palóu to Lasuén, July 4, 1786. *Arch. Sta. Bárbara,* XI, 214–215; Fages to Palóu, January 2, 1787.

[2] Palóu to Lasuén, August 16, 1786. *Arch. Sta. Bárbara,* XII, 39–40.

[3] The Custodia question now quietly subsided. Palóu and his College had strong friends at Court in Gálvez, Trujillo, and Areche. On the other hand, the custodia of Sonora proved to be a flat failure, and the plan to try one in California went by the board.

help, and by diplomacy and the merits of his case he won over the viceroy and his fiscal. The moral force of the gray haired old guardian was fully acknowledged at this time by Father Lasuén, the brilliant California president. Reinforcing Palóu's argument by a longer discussion of the Fages question, he added: "The other points . . . have been treated by Fr. Francisco Palóu, the Fr. Guardian of the San Fernando College. In them my immediate Superior speaks, and so it behooves me to be silent. Your honor has the satisfaction that a person of greatest reliability is there informing you on the subject. He merits entire belief because, apart from his character, he was many years occupied in these and other missions, and he has held the presidency of the missions of both Californias."

Palóu's victory was complete. Engelhardt remarks, "On receipt of the joyful news of their deliverance from the evils that had threatened their missions, the Fathers in California offered the most hearty thanksgivings to Heaven."[1]

The Vida del Padre Serra Published

But it was not all a matter of fighting. In Mexico Palóu's biography of Serra made a great impression, and this served as a sweet solace to the author's last days. He had written the *Vida*

[1] Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, 424–429.

for the archives of his province, but his associates insisted that it be published at once, and offered to furnish the funds. He hesitated. "The only reason for my reluctance," he said, "was that I am well aware of the defects of the work as well as of my own lack of ability, and also the fact that I wrote it among the heathen surroundings of the Port of San Francisco, in that new mission, the most northerly of New California, where I had no access to books or to the society of learned men."[1]

But he consented to publication and enjoyed the prospect. To Lasuén he wrote[2] that the royal fiscal in Mexico was much interested to learn about the California missions. "I told him what I could think of and all that there was time for, saying that soon he could read it in the life of the deceased Father Fr. Junípero, principal founder, which they are approving for publication, and for the expense of which I already have benefactors, who without my asking it have offered to pay the entire cost. If God lends me life to see it I shall send a few copies to those missions. I have no doubt this news will please your Reverence and all the rest of the fathers, for in the account the great labors of your Reverences are set forth. And I believe

[1] Palóu, *Vida del Padre Serra,* Prólogo; James edition, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.

[2] August 15, 1786.

it will become known throughout Europe, as the censors assure me, because of the great desire of everybody to learn about those New Conquests. I presume that already His Majesty and his Ministers and our Most Reverend [Commissary-General] know about the *Relación Histórica* which is about to appear. Your Reverence, as one so attached to the deceased Father, will not fail to ask God that this may come to pass."[1]

The censors were enthusiastic and permission to publish was readily obtained.[2] The remarkable *Vida del Padre Serra* was published at Mexico in 1787, at the expense of Don Miguel González Calderón, *síndico* of the College of San Fernando. When it appeared friends were generous and the old author's heart was warmed. Fray Antonio Barbastro wrote from Sonora, "My Father, I cannot express to your Reverence the comfort that I have drawn from reading this edifying life. So much did it charm me from the beginning that I dropped it from my hand only for the time necessary to eat, . . . The whole Order should show its appreciation."[3] Even more pleasing to Palóu was the knowledge

[1] Palóu to Lasuén, August 16, 1786. *Arch. Sta. Bárbara,* XII, 44–45.

[2] Palóu, *Vida del Padre Serra.* See the letters of the censors; James edition, pp. xxvi-xxxi.

[3] Barbastro to Palóu, Aronchi, Sonora, June 28, 1788.

that the book had reached the royal court, where it would help earn support for his beloved missions of New California. A high official at Madrid wrote to tell him that he had personally gone to San Lorenzo to deliver copies for the King, the Prince, the Ministry, members of the Council, and "others of the first rank in the Court."[1]

When Palóu died, a short time afterward, he must have had profound satisfaction to know that through his industry the heroic deeds of his colleagues and of his great teacher would be made known throughout the ages.

If, in his last days, someone had wished to confer upon this great missionary an honorary degree, his characterization might have read: Fray Francisco Palóu, diligent student, devout Christian, loyal disciple, tireless traveller, zealous missionary, firm defender of the faith, resourceful pioneer, successful mission builder, able administrator, fair-minded historian of California, founder of Mission San Francisco, chosen companion and eloquent biographer of Junípero Serra.

[1] The Commissary-General to Palóu, Madrid, October 29, 1788.

NOTE BY FATHER FIGUEROA

The changes in Old California, and especially the vast enterprises, discoveries, and settlements, and the rapid progress made in New California, which are the theme of this book and the next, offered a field of agreeable variety to the facile pen of the Reverend Father Palóu. The quality of his information, the circumstantial exactness of his data, the naturalness and simplicity of his style, the orderliness of his narrative, and especially the fact that he had traversed the regions of which he treats, since he was an eye-witness of the happenings, *quorum pars magna fuit,* have made him worthy of the admiration of his brother friars, and of exaltation by all other students of good taste who have read him without prejudice.

These copies have been made from the author's original itself, which is in the archive of the reverend and apostolic fathers of the College of San Fernando of this Court, with all the exactitude permitted by the wretched and difficult handwriting of the original.

This volume is a faithful copy of the original.

Fray Francisco García Figueroa (Rubric).

Mexico, December 3, 1792.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF
NEW CALIFORNIA

BY
THE REVEREND FATHER FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

JESUS, MARY, AND JOSEPH

This is a collection of memoirs of Old California,* for the time when its missions were administered by the missionaries of the Regular Observance of Our Seraphic Father of San Fernando de Mexico; and of the missions which those missionaries founded in the new establishments of San Diego and Monterey.

It was written by the least, because the most unworthy, of these missionaries, one who, having been in Old California from the time when it was taken charge of by that College until it was delivered to the reverend fathers of the Sacred Order of Our Cherubic Father Santo Domingo, afterward went up to the missions of Monterey with other missionaries of the same College of San Fernando. This material labor, which follows the trails marked out for me by the apostolic ministry, has no other purpose than to note down whatever has happened and may happen while God may give me life and health to labor in this new vineyard

* That is, Lower California, or Baja California.

of the Lord, in order that, when the chronicler of our apostolic colleges may ask that of San Fernando for reports of its missionary labors, it may have them assembled in one volume, or more if there is that much to record. I leave to the skill of the chronicler the putting of them in proper form for publication, and to his prudence and piety the leaving for the secret archives those which are written to close the mouths of persons envious of apostolic ministry, who are never lacking in the new missions, so that if some day they should ask for the deeds of the missionaries, there may be at hand all the events just as they happened in California, both Old and New, all of which with entire sincerity and truth I shall set forth in this collection.

It is divided into four parts. In the first I shall tell what happened in Old California during the five years while it was in charge of the College. In the second I shall relate the expeditions made for the conquest of Monterey and the founding of the first five missions. In the third will be shown their status at the end of December, 1773, according to the report sent to his Excellency. And in the fourth and last will be noted whatever may take place worthy of record.

PART ONE

MEMOIRS OF OLD CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER I

HOW CALIFORNIA CAME UNDER THE CHARGE OF THE COLLEGE OF SAN FERNANDO

The expatriation of the reverend Jesuit fathers, by order of his Majesty, Carlos III, God save him, was put into effect in this New Spain on June 25, 1767. Thereupon the Most Excellent Marquis de Croix, who was then viceroy, agreed to entrust the missions of California to the Apostolic College of San Fernando. The reverend father guardian, Fray José García, was obliged to accept them, but with permission, because of the lack of friars here, to go immediately to Spain to bring some. In the interval until their arrival only five friars were to remain in the missions of the Sierra Gorda, one for each mission, while the rest were to go to make up the number of twelve.[1]

The venerable Discretory therefore decided that a letter should be written to the Sierra inviting the missionaries there to undertake this journey, and directing them, in case they were inspired to do so, to go straightway and join the others, who would immediately set out from the College. As there was no certainty that five

would be available, in order that there might be no delay it was decided that nine should go from our College, and that when they should reach Querétaro or Guadalaxara, if the five were there to join them, two should return to the Sierra. Those named by the venerable Discretory to go from our College were the following:

The reverend father preacher, Fray Junípero Serra, doctor and professor *de prima* of sacred theology, commissary of the Holy Office, and president of the missions of the holy province of Mayorca.

Father Fray Francisco Palóu, son of the same province and missionary of the college named.

Father Fray Juan Morán, missionary, from the province of La Concepción.

Father Fray Antonio Martínez, of the province of Burgos.

Father Fray Juan Ygnacio Gastón, son of the same province.

Father Fray Fernando Parrón, son of the province of Estremadura.

Father Fray Juan Sancho de la Torre, of the province of Mayorca.

Father Fray Francisco Gómez, of the province of La Concepción.

Father Fray Andrés Villaumbrales, of the same province.

We all left our College on July 16, 1767. The expense for everything necessary was charged to the account of the king. Finding when we reached Querétaro that the friars[2] from the Sierra had not arrived, and having no time to wait for them, we went on, the nine of us, to Guadalaxara, where we also failed to find them. We were obliged to continue as far as the town of Tepic, where we arrived after a pleasant journey, and were lodged in the hospice of Santa Cruz, which belongs to the Observant Friars of the holy province of Xalisco of our order.

At this town we found the troop which was going on the expedition to Cerro Prieto, in the province of Sonora. It had been detained because the two packet-boats which were being constructed on account of the king, to convey the troop to the port of Guaymas, were not finished. As soon as we arrived at this town the treasurer of the troop came to see us, and to tell the reverend father president that he had an order from the most excellent viceroy to provide everything necessary for the maintenance of the friars. The reverend father president thanked him, but told him that we would live with the friars of the hospice, since its reverend father president had taken this upon himself, for he was doing us this charity. The treasurer therefore took care to give to the syndic of the hospice the necessary

allowance, so that the reverend father president of the hospice might give us the customary friars' rations. He did so, and we all were well pleased and grateful for the charity which our king exhibited toward us, his humble chaplains.

CHAPTER II

THE MISSION AT TEPIC, AND WHAT HAPPENED WHILE IT WAS IN PROGRESS

A few days after we reached Tepic the reverend father president of the mission learned that a small sloop was being prepared to go to California to carry Don Gaspar de Portolá, the governor who had been named for that province, and a troop of soldiers, dragoons and miquelets, with their color-sergeant and a chaplain, Bachelor Don Pedro Fernández. Thereupon the reverend father president went to see Don Domingo Elizondo, the colonel in command of the whole force, and endeavored to get permission for some of the friars to sail. He succeeded in obtaining leave for two, although some inconvenience would result on account of the small size of the sloop. Having obtained this permission he decided that Fray Juan Ignacio Gastón and I should be the ones to go.

On the afternoon of the twenty-fourth of August we two friars embarked at Matanchel with the others mentioned above, and the same afternoon the sloop set sail. It was accompanied by a launch carrying the saddles and equipage of

the soldiers and five of the dragoons, who sailed in it. As it was the season for tornadoes, and the boat was so small and top-heavy, we did not fail to get some good frights, especially on the night of the 28th, when, being inshore off Cape Corrientes, a severe storm arose about six in the afternoon and lasted until nearly midnight. We were in danger of being lost and prepared ourselves to die, and I certainly thought that we were doomed.

In the greatest affliction the governor, whom I had already confessed as preparation for whatever might happen, said to me that we ought to make some promise to some saint, in order to free ourselves from that horrible tempest. As he said this my companion, Fray Juan Gastón, reminded me of the grass which I was bringing from the holy cross of the hospice of Tepic. And so, promising to sing a Mass for the holy cross, and that everyone would attend it, I threw into the sea some stems of the grass which the Tepicans keep and value as a relic. And I can sincerely say that as soon as the grass fell into the sea it was pacified and became calm. I cannot assert that it was a miracle, but I can say that everybody regarded it as a prodigy and a great mercy of God.

As an act of gratitude, as soon as we reached the hospice they sang the Mass, which was attended by the governor, many officers of the

troop, and all the soldiers who had embarked. This was done at the hospice because, on account of the continuous storms, the governor had ordered that we should return to Matanchel, thinking that it was not a proper season for the voyage. Yet it was all right for the launch, which in eleven days made the port of Escondido in California, about seven leagues from the royal presidio of Loreto. They did not disembark, however, but awaited the sloop, according to orders. Seeing that it did not appear, after running along the entire inner coast of California from Escondido to Cape San Lucas, and not finding the sloop, the launch returned to Matanchel.

With the arrival of the launch at the port of Escondido the Jesuit fathers learned that the governor of the Peninsula was coming, and that he was accompanied by the missionaries of the College of San Fernando. The crew of the launch told this to an Indian whom they saw at the port of Escondido. But this is all they told him, for they kept quiet about everything else, which is something to wonder at in seamen, especially as most of the sailors were natives of California. From these confused reports the Jesuit missionaries concluded that the renunciation, which they had made some years before, of these missions to his Excellency, the Marquis de Cruillas, viceroy of New Spain, had been

accepted; but they never once thought of such a blow as expatriation. When they learned that missionaries were coming from San Fernando they made great demonstrations of joy, as I was assured by Indians as well as soldiers. For this the Jesuits merit praise from our apostolic institute, for it served greatly to induce the Indians to receive us well, and not be so disconsolate over the departure of the fathers who had reared them, especially as they had never seen or known any others.

On the sixth of September we returned to Tepic, finding in the hospice more missionaries than before. There were now lodged there fourteen from Santa Cruz de Querétaro, who were going to the Pima country in the province of Sonora, and eleven Observants from the province of Xalisco, who, with another one not yet arrived, were to go also to the missions of Sonora. A few days afterward seven more from the same province arrived, on their way to take charge of the missions of Nayarit. We also found the five members of our College of San Fernando who had come from the Sierra Gorda. They were Fray José Murguía, Fray Juan Ramos de Lora, Fray Juan Crespi, Fray Miguel de la Campa, and Fray Fermín Lazuén. We were now two more than the number called for, but since the Most Illustrious Bishop of Guadalaxara told us that he had no priests to send, and that he had

already written to his Excellency, the president decided not to send anyone back to the Sierra, for he considered us all necessary, as there were still lacking two to equal the number of the Jesuit missionaries in California.

His Excellency ordered that all the missionaries and the soldiers should go by sea, not only those for California, who could not go otherwise, but those for Sonora as well, and that all should be taken in the two packet-boats that were being built on the Santiago River. But these were very far behind, and the delay promised to be long. In view of this, and seeing so many missionaries in a manner idle, the reverend father president of our friars of San Fernando proposed that a mission should be held in Tepic. He spoke to the reverend father president of the friars from Querétaro, and after discussing the matter they decided to postpone it, thinking that the town was not in the proper mood for a mission, and that little or no result would come from it. They concluded that it would be better to postpone it until the town should be somewhat relieved of the soldiers, and that the friars who remained after their departure could conduct the mission.

In the early part of October, after the passing of the equinox, Don Domingo Elizondo, commander of the troops, decided to prepare the soldiers who were to go to California with the

governor, and sent a note to our president advising him to embark with his friars, for he had decided that they should sail in the middle of that month in the sloop and a launch that was at Matanchel, the property of a miner of California, Don Manuel de Ocio. As soon as he received this note the father president went to inquire of the commander and the governor who were to sail. When the latter told him that he had chosen the sloop for himself and his troops, while the missionaries were to go in the launch, the father president decided to go personally to see it, and find out whether there was room enough for the fourteen friars. He did so, and while he was in Matanchel mail arrived from Mexico with the news that his Excellency had ordered that the San Fernando mission, together with that of Querétaro, should go to the province of Sonora, while that of Xalisco should go to California. This order was made known to me, because I had been named by the College as president in the absence of the Reverend Father Fray Junípero Serra. At the same time a letter from our father guardian was handed to me. In it he told us that since the very reverend father commissary-general, Fray Manuel de Nájera, had learned that the missionaries of the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, according to what had been observed of them in the hospice of Tepic, would not, in Sonora, maintain with the

friars of Xalisco those harmonious relations which are so important, he had petitioned his Excellency to send the Observants to California and the missionaries of the two colleges to Sonora, thinking that, since they belonged to the same institute, they would agree better.[3]

As soon as I received the letter and learned of the new arrangement I sent a courier to Matanchel to acquaint the reverend father president with it. Back he hurried to the hospice, for he was greatly annoyed by the impending change. It had the same effect upon all of us, as well as upon the missionaries of Querétaro. Their president, feeling the honor of his mission impugned, but his conscience not being in the least stung by the thought that any friar had given ground for the presumption that there would be any lack of coöperation and harmony between his missionaries and those of the province, presented himself with a petition to the presidents of the hospice and of the friars of the province, begging them to declare at the foot of it whether they had seen anything in any of the missionaries that would indicate the least disagreement. They replied that they had not seen even the slightest; on the contrary, they had observed in all of them much charity and affection, and they had not the least reason for suspecting that there would be any lack of harmony and concord.

While this measure was being taken by the reverend father president of the College of Querétaro, our president arrived from Matanchel. Finding his missionaries disconsolate, both because of the change in their destination and of the reason alleged for it, he decided that I should go with a companion to the city of Guanaxuato and see the visitor-general, to learn whether he had changed his mind in regard to our destination, and if such were the case to satisfy him that the missionaries of Querétaro had given no ground for sending the Xaliscans to California instead of to Sonora with the Querétaro friars. For this purpose we took the certificates of the two Observant father presidents, of the hospice and of the mission of the province. I sacrificed myself for this journey, taking as companion Father Fray Miguel de la Campa Cos, a native of Durango in Nueva Vizcaya[4] and a son of the College. After receiving the blessing of the reverend father president, we set out from the hospice on the 19th of October, at the same time that the Observant Fathers who were going to embark for California started to Matanchel. As the one who was lacking to make up the number of twelve had not arrived, they took in his place Don Isidro Ibarsábal, a cleric of the diocese of Oaxaca, who had come along with the troops with the intention of going to Sonora. They embarked in the launch; the governor, the troops,

and the above-mentioned chaplain, Don Pedro Fernández, sailed in the sloop; while I with my companion traveled on to Guanaxuato.

We reached that city on the first[5] of November at midday, and went to lodge at the convent of the Barefoot Fathers of our Order. After three o'clock we went to see the visitor-general and told him the purpose of our coming. He said that he already knew what had happened, and that it was against his wishes, and was not the intention of his Majesty; and that if he had gone to Mexico he would have spoken to his Excellency, and doubtless the latter would not have ordered us changed from California to Sonora, nor would he have shifted the Observant Fathers from Sonora to California. He went on to say that since we had taken the trouble to come from Tepic we might as well continue to Mexico, and he would give us a letter to his Excellency; and that as soon as we should arrive the latter would attend to us. We agreed, and on the following day he delivered the letter to us. After Mass we set out for Mexico, where we arrived on the 9th of the same month. When we had related to the reverend father guardian and the venerable Discretory all that had happened, he sent us to his Excellency. As soon as he saw the letter of the visitor-general and heard what had occurred at Tepic, and the cause of the delay, his Excellency at once issued a

decree revoking the one he had given and ordering anew that we should go on to California, and the Observants to their original destination of Sonora. They delivered this decree to me on the 11th, and when we went to thank his Excellency for it he told us to send it by courier, and to rest ourselves some days from the long journey. The reverend father guardian was of the same opinion, and so a courier was sent to Guadalaxara with the decree, while we remained to rest a few days.

In this interval the chapter of the College was held, and in it the Reverend Father Fray Juan Andrés was elected guardian. I asked him to allow two more missionaries to go with us, since no clerics were now going and it was necessary to have sixteen priests. He proposed it in the Discretory, and, as it was agreed to, the father preachers Fray Dionisio Basterra and Fray Juan de Medina Beitía, both friars from the province of Cantabria, were named. The four of us set out together from the College for Tepic on the 6th of December, and without having had in all that journey the smallest mishap, we arrived on the last day of the month at the hospice of Tepic, where we were welcomed by the others with demonstrations of the utmost joy.

CHAPTER III

CONTINUATION OF THE SAME SUBJECT

I have already said in the preceding chapter that the Observant Fathers sailed for California, leaving the hospice to embark on the same day that we set out for Mexico. The missions of the two colleges remained in the hospice, where they stayed without any disagreement whatever. At this time the packet-boat named *San Carlos* was finished, and Commander Elizondo decided to embark in it with all the soldiers, dragoons, and cavalry, leaving orders that afterwards, in the other ship or any that might come from California, the remainder of the troops and the father missionaries should embark. The commander set out in the vessel named on Christmas day, but a week later he returned to San Blas in distress. For this reason he decided to go by land with all the dragoons, leaving the *San Carlos* to carry the rest of the troops to Guaymas, with as many of the missionaries bound for Sonora (those from the College of Querétaro) as could find room in it. At this time the packet-boat named *Nuestra Señora de Loreto,* coming from California, arrived at San Blas, sent by

Governor Gaspar de Portolá, who arrived at Cape San Lucas on December 2. From there he went on by land with his soldiers and miquelets to the camp of Loreto, whence he sent the bark mentioned above with the news that the Observant Fathers had not yet arrived and nothing was known of the launch. Nearly all the troops embarked in the two packet-boats, and the missionaries of Querétaro were divided between them, leaving in Tepic only one company of dragoons, with their captain, who were to sail in the packet-boat *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* carrying the treasure-chest.[6]

As soon as our father president saw that we were left behind, not knowing when we should sail, and that the town of Tepic was now relieved of the troops, for, as I have said, only one company remained, he decided to hold a mission, not only in Tepic but also in all the neighboring towns. With this in view, after designating those who were to remain with him he assigned posts to all the rest. The city of Compostela, with two little dependent towns of the same parish, fell to me, and I went there with Father Fray Miguel de la Campa and Fray Juan de Medina Beitía.

There was time to complete these missions, for it was not till the day before the general communion of these towns that I received a letter from the father president, who had finished his mission at Tepic, telling us to go to the hospice,

as we were shortly to embark in the packet-boat *Concepción,* which had just arrived from California, bringing the reverend Jesuit fathers from those missions, fifteen priests and a coadjutor who had the care of the warehouse of Loreto. They brought the news that the Observant Fathers had not yet received their missions, but had only arrived at Cape San Lucas and were there awaiting the order of the governor to go by land.

In a short time we reassembled, we sixteen priests, missionary friars of San Fernando, in the hospice of Tepic. The reverend father president prepared for the voyage by sending two friars ahead to San Blas to receive the cargoes and make all arrangements needed for the bark. This, however, was not necessary, for it all ran to the account of the king, under charge of Don Miguel de Rivera,[7] commissary of San Blas, whose duty it was to provide all the food required for the voyage. He named as conductor to take care of everything Don Antonio Jaroca, commander of artillery, who was to accompany us, together with a color-sergeant and eight soldiers.

As soon as we were notified we set out from Tepic, on the 13th of March, and at midday on the 14th we were already in San Blas, where we found anchored the packet-boat *San Carlos,* which had come in distress after forty days' sailing. The reverend father president of the

mission of Querétaro and the five other friars of his mission told us about the hardships they had suffered in the forty days at sea without completing their voyage, and how some of them fell ill and decided to go by land, which, through pity for them, was permitted. They told us also that the *Lauretana** had suffered similarly, and was anchored in the port of Mazatlán; and that only one friar remained on her, the rest having gone by land to Guaymas. The six who were in San Blas were determined to reëmbark on the *San Carlos.* We consoled them and left them some provisions from our supply, for on account of the great sufferings they had passed through they needed them badly.

* The same as the *Nuestra Señora de Loreto.*

CHAPTER IV

VOYAGE TO CALIFORNIA AND ARRIVAL AT THE CAMP OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LORETO; AND THE NEWS THAT WE LEARNED THERE

At eight o'clock at night on the 14th[8] of March, 1768, we sixteen missionaries embarked, with the others mentioned in the preceding chapter, on the packet-boat named *La Purísima Concepción de María Santísima,* all with a lively faith that we would have a fortunate voyage, because our most beloved and sweetest prelate was patroness. These hopes did not fail us, for, without the slightest mishap, although the wind was not very favorable, we found ourselves after twelve days' sailing in sight of Cape San Lorenzo. However, on account of the north wind which blew fiercely against our prow, it was necessary for us to anchor in the shelter of the islands of San Cosme and San Damián, and it was not until Good Friday, April 1, that we anchored in the roadstead of Loreto.

Before the anchor had been dropped, about eight in the evening, Governor Don Gaspar de Portolá was already aboard the packet to see about our landing. But, since it was now too

dark to take off the beds, he decided to postpone it until the following day, so only the reverend father president and I went ashore with the governor. We found at the college the reverend father Fray Manuel Zuzáregui, president of the reverend fathers of the mission of Xalisco, who for eighteen days had been administering the church of that camp, presidio, and mission. He told us about the great hardships that he and his friars had suffered since the month of October of the preceding year, when they left Tepic. He said that the latest comers bound for the northern missions had not yet reached their destinations, and that he had already despatched a courier to notify them all to return to Loreto, for the purpose of embarking and going to their original destination of Sonora, as his Excellency the Viceroy now ordered. On the following day, Holy Saturday, which we reckoned to be the 2d of April, very early in the morning we friars all landed and went to the church to give thanks to God and His Holy Mother of Loreto, patroness of the Peninsula, for our safe arrival at our new destination, reserving for the following day the singing of the Mass of thanksgiving.

This same day the governor sent for the reverend father president and me and read to us the letter of his Excellency the Viceroy ordering him to deliver to us all the missions of the Peninsula which had been administered by the

reverend Jesuit fathers, together with everything pertaining to the churches and sacristies, as well as the house utensils, but that temporal matters should be left in charge of the soldiers whom the governor had commissioned for that purpose since the departure of the Jesuit fathers. To this the reverend father president replied that he was now informed of the order of his Excellency the Viceroy, and that it would be carried out by the friars without the slightest interference in things temporal.

This order of his Excellency did not fail to weigh upon us in so far as it touched upon the temporal conduct of the missions, because without this the missionaries can do nothing to advance their spiritual interests. Moreover, the previous order of his Excellency had been that all the missions were to be delivered to us, and that they were to be under our care just as they were formerly under that of the Jesuit fathers. Since they had charge of both the spiritual and the temporal affairs of the Indians, we had assumed that we were to have the same. The governor explained to us the reason for the change in this way: when he arrived at Cape San Lucas he found himself without any missionaries, since he had to gather at Loreto all the Jesuit fathers in order to send them to Matanchel, in accordance with the order that he carried. Therefore, as soon as he arrived at the mission of Santiago

de las Coras, having no missionary to whom to entrust the temporal property of the mission, in order to prevent the Indians from immediately using it up, he entrusted it to one of the leather-jacket soldiers. He did the same at the mission of Todos Santos and at all the others of the Peninsula; and when he despatched the *Lauretana* with a report to his Excellency of what he had done up to that time his Excellency approved of it. He added that he had no doubt we would be given charge of temporal matters also, for his Excellency had said in the same last order that they should remain in the care of the soldiers commissioned for the purpose until the arrival of the visitor-general, who was ready to start for California,[9] and who, upon his arrival, would decide according to what he thought was right. Therefore the governor had no doubt that when the visitor arrived he would entrust the care of temporal affairs to us, which in fact he did, as I shall show farther on.[10]

CHAPTER V

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FRIARS AMONG THE MISSIONS, AND WHAT HAPPENED BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE VISITOR-GENERAL

On April 3, Easter Sunday, the thanksgiving Mass for the fortunate outcome of the voyage was sung by the reverend father president, who afterwards ascended the pulpit and delivered an address to the people, telling them the purpose for which he had come, and that we would endeavor to care for them in the same way as the Jesuit fathers had done, as far as should be possible for us and permitted by our apostolic institute. Next day we continued to give the thanks due to God for our successful voyage by singing a second Mass, repeating the same on the third day of Easter week. After the conclusion of the third Mass the reverend father president made the distribution of the missions, first informing himself about them and their distances from one another. All being present, this distribution was read, as follows:

Beginning with Cape San Lucas, for the mission of San José, at that cape, he appointed the father preacher Fray Juan Morán.

For Santiago de las Coras, the father preacher Fray José Murguía, son of our College.

For Nuestra Señora del Pilar, commonly called Todos Santos, the father preacher Fray Juan Ramos de Lora, son of the holy province of Los Angeles.

For Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, commonly called La Pasión, the father preacher Fray Francisco Gómez.

For San Luís Gonzaga, the father preacher Fray Andrés Villaumbrales.

For San Francisco Xavier he named me.

For San José Cumundú, the father preacher Fray Antonio Martínez.

For Purísima Concepción de Cadegomó, the father preacher Fray Juan Crespi, of the province of Mayorca.

For Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, the father preacher Fray Juan Sancho.

For Santa Rosalía de Mulexé, the father preacher Fray Juan Gastón.

For San Ignacio, the father preacher Fray Miguel de la Campa.

For Santa Gertrudis, the father preacher Fray Dionisio Basterra.

For San Francisco de Borja, the father preacher Fray Fermín Lazuén.

For Santa María de los Angeles, the father preacher Fray Juan Medina Beitía.

And for the mission and royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto he designated the father preacher Fray Fernando Parrón, the reverend father president remaining in it as minister, with Fray Fernando as companion.

With this distribution we were all well pleased and gave thanks to God for the good fortune that had fallen to us. Next day the reverend father president again assembled us and made us a fervent exhortation, urging us to work in the vineyard of the Lord, reminding us to keep always in view the purpose for which we were going, and the great zeal we should have for the good name of our College. He said also that news of the death of any one would be long in reaching the College, and that consequently their successors would be delayed. An agreement was therefore made that for each friar who might die in the missions each of the others should offer twenty recited Masses; and that for each one of the fathers of the College of Querétaro who might die in the missions of Sonora, each of our fathers should say nine Masses; and that the fathers of those missions should do the same for each of ours who might die, the duty of communicating the news to be left to the father presidents.

On the 6th of April, the reverend father president remaining in Loreto with his companion, Father Fray Juan Fernando, we fourteen

missionaries set out for our destinations. All went first to the mission of San Xavier, where we arrived about eight in the evening, and were welcomed by Bachelor Don Pedro Fernández, chaplain of the troop, who was administering that mission because of the lack of a missionary. He received us with demonstrations of great joy, as did also the Indians of the mission. Next day a Mass was sung to the holy patron, and the friars rested until the following day, when they set out for their destinations, eight of them taking the road to the missions of the North, and five to those of the South. I remained at the mission of San Xavier as its missionary, with Bachelor Fernández simply as guest, until other arrangements were made, as will be related farther on.

The fathers having reached their missions, each took charge of the church and sacristy, with all the vestments, sacred vessels, and utensils, making a formal inventory signed by the father missionary who received it and the soldier commissioner who delivered it. The same was done with the house or dwelling of the father and the utensils belonging to it. The inventories were made in duplicate, one remaining in the archive of each mission, while the other was sent to the reverend father president, who forwarded all of them to the College, where they will no doubt be found in the archive.

At the mission of Loreto only the church and sacristy were turned over, the house remaining in charge of the governor, whose duty it was to take care of it and of the temporal affairs of the mission. He gave seats at his table to the two missionaries, and took over the care of the temporalities of the mission and of whatever was sent to him from the other missions by the soldier commissioners. All the fathers lived at their respective missions in the same way; the commissioned soldier gave them their food, and himself ate at the expense of the missions, having charge of temporal matters and disposing of them at his pleasure. The fathers did not interfere in the slightest degree, nor were they even free to entertain the Indians for the purpose of attracting them to the spiritual life. The missions continued in this way until the visitor-general, being informed of the harm that resulted in spiritual as well as in temporal matters, decided to remove the commissioners and entrust the fathers with the temporalities as well, as I shall state later.

CHAPTER VI

ARRIVAL OF THE VISITOR-GENERAL IN CALIFORNIA; AND THE FIRST MEASURES WHICH HE TOOK FOR THE BETTERMENT OF THE PENINSULA

With the object of obtaining reliable information concerning the Peninsula of California, his Excellency the Viceroy charged the most illustrious visitor-general, on going to pacify the rebellious Indians of Cerro Prieto in the province of Sonora, to touch in passing at California, in order to report to him on its condition. With this end in view he embarked at San Blas on May 24, 1768, and arrived at the Peninsula on July 6, carrying with him all the prerogatives of his Excellency the Viceroy. Landing at Cerralvo, he went to the mining camp at Santa Ana, where his retinue, which had arrived some days before, was already lodged, and took up his residence in the house of Don Manuel de Ocio, a miner. He afterwards bought the house on the account of the king.[11]

He first discharged the duty of writing to inform his Excellency of his arrival and of the despatching of the ships. Then, with the object

of learning the state of the missions, he issued a decree dated on the 12th of the same month of July, asking all the missionaries and soldier commissioners to report to him, each one separately, the missions in their charge, their state, spiritual as well as temporal, and the number of Indians in each. This report was made to him by the missionaries with all sincerity, and without exaggerating or concealing the smallest thing that they had seen and observed, or the information that they had acquired from the soldiers and Indians.

The soldier commissioners of all the missions did the same on their part, making a separate report of each mission, and sending them all to the visitor-general.[12] The missionaries made copies and sent them to the reverend father president, who, together with the lists of neophytes, sent them to the College. According to these lists it was found that in the fifteen California missions there were seven thousand one hundred and forty-nine Indians, counting men and women, big and little, even babes at the breast and those recently baptized.

While the decrees of the most illustrious visitor-general were being sent through all the missions, and the fathers and commissioners prepared their accounts and sent them all together to the visitor-general, his Illustrious Lordship passed on from the Camp of Santa Ana to visit

the missions of Cape San Lucas. Finding the mission of San José del Cabo without a church, and being moved by his religious zeal, he issued a decree that one should be built, ordering eight hundred pesos given from the royal commissary of Santa Ana to begin it. But for lack of a master builder the order was not carried out, nor did the father missionary apply for the allowance, but reserved it until such time as the men necessary for the work could be obtained.

In the visit of his Illustrious Lordship to the missions of the Department of the South, he observed that the missions were rapidly going to destruction in temporal matters, partly because of the large amount spent by the commissioners, and of the fact that they took from the missions anything they fancied, and partly because of their bad administration and of their unfitness for the task entrusted to them. He observed how greatly the missions had fallen behind in spiritual matters. He noted also that the Indians pay attention to and obey only those who give them something, and that only by gifts and threats can they be attracted to prayers, the catechism, or anything that pertains to the Church.

He concluded, therefore, that unless temporal matters were left in the care of the fathers they would never be able to advance the missions in the spiritualities, and that for this reason the

Portrait of Joseph de Gálvez.

From Alamán, *Disertaciones Sobre la Historia de la República Mexicana.*

missionary fathers must have charge of all the industrial and temporal affairs of the missions, in order to attain the principal object of their institute, which is the education and salvation of the Indians, while they perform at the same time the office of tutor and instructor in the Christian doctrine. For these reasons the visitor-general issued a decree on August 12 of the same year, ordering the commissioners to turn over to the missionary fathers all the temporalities in their charge, and to make out their accounts for the time of their administration and deliver them to the fathers, that they might add their comments and send them to the camp of Santa Ana, so that in view of them his Illustrious Lordship might come to a decision.

This was done in all the missions except Loreto, and the commissioners delivered by inventory everything belonging to the missions. The inventory, signed by the father who received it and the soldier who delivered it, was sent to his Illustrious Lordship, and from the day of the delivery the administration and management of the temporal affairs of the missions remained in the care of the missionary fathers.

The soldier commissioners made out their accounts and handed them to the missionary fathers, who made their reports in regard to them, endeavoring as far as they could to make excuses for the soldiers. In some instances there

were good reasons why his Illustrious Lordship should inflict punishment; but the fathers themselves interceded and his Lordship was placated, pardoning some of them, contenting himself with sending some of them on the expedition to Monterey, and discharging others.

They greatly irritated his Lordship by their bad conduct, of which he learned through the soldiers who came and went as couriers. Since these had no commission in the missions, they did not keep quiet about what they saw others do, and the visitor, being so sagacious and assiduous, drew it from them by questions. He must have seen a great deal also in the missions of the South, as he gave me to understand in a letter which he wrote on the same day that he issued the decrees. I cannot omit copying a clause in it, to show that the missionary fathers had no influence on this decision. It runs as follows:

I have returned in good health from my pilgrimage to Cape San Lucas, and I have discovered important things. To-day I am sending out nine decrees for the missions of that part of the Peninsula, so that the temporalities may be transferred to the direction of your Reverence and be delivered from the harsh rule of the soldiers of the presidio, although some of them may deserve to be assigned to another one nearer than Loreto. Come out, then, your Reverence, in regard to that rascal whom you

have in that mission, and do not cover up anything that he may have hidden. I promise him my justice, if this should be necessary to induce him to confess what he may have concealed, for by this means only may severity be abated; and although blood may not flow, I shall know how to give him his deserts.

In another letter which the same gentleman wrote me in regard to the accounts of the soldiers, he speaks in this manner:

It grieves me much to see the damage which was done before my coming, to the herds and property of the poor missions, in order to make them worse than they were and give me more to do; but for the future I shall cut the evil right off at the root.

It is not surprising that this gentleman should be so irritated, for the commissioners themselves confessed in their accounts the number of cattle they had killed in a little more than six months during which they had charge of the missions. There was one soldier who killed six hundred head, another four hundred, another three hundred, so that it caused horror to read what they themselves admitted. In the crops and wines the destruction was equally great, and it was to be feared that if this should go on, within a year the missions would be left destitute, entirely ruined, and without strength to lift their heads.

Although all the fathers saw clearly that the missions were going to destruction as far as their

temporal affairs were concerned, on account of the bad administration of the soldiers; and that on the spiritual side no progress could be made because the Indians were not under the direction of the fathers, but under that of the soldiers who had charge of the missions, yet they were very far from seeking the management of the temporalities. On the contrary, they gave his Lordship plainly to understand how they felt. Indeed, when this same Illustrious Lordship delivered the decrees in person to Father Fray Juan Morán, minister of the mission of San José del Cabo, he begged to be excused, saying he had not come for that, and that if he had known of such a thing in Mexico he would not have left the College. But his Illustrious Lordship explained to him how necessary it was to have the management of temporal affairs, in order to succeed in spiritual matters; and that since a friar was a vassal of the king he owed this service to his Majesty, because it redounded to the spiritual welfare of souls.

His Lordship found the missionary at Santiago de las Coras equally reluctant, but the mission there was in such a deplorable state that it was necessary to urge him to take charge of it, promising him all his assistance to bring it back to life, a promise which he fulfilled. The same thing happened in nearly all the missions, and, not having any other consolation in their

new charges, the friars had to admit that in this way they might further the missions in the spiritualities, which is the principal aim of our institute. In a short time this began to be apparent, for they observed in the Indians more obedience, submission, and punctuality in attendance at catechism, prayers, and other services of the Church.[13]

CHAPTER VII

OTHER MEASURES TAKEN BY THE VISITOR-GENERAL

His Illustrious Lordship was made acquainted, through the reports of the missionary fathers and the commissioners, with the state of all the missions, the number of families in each, the lands and water for crops which it enjoyed, and the property which it possessed. He saw that many[14] of the missions could never support the Indians whom they had on their books, and that it would be necessary in the future for them to live as they formerly did, in the hills like deer, supporting themselves with wild fruits, while there were other missions with an abundance of land and water and with few Indians, though able to support many more if they would adopt civil life. He therefore decided to remedy the evils which would follow from this situation by moving the surplus Indians from some missions to others which had few Indians but plenty of land. Reflecting that the two missions of Dolores and San Luís Gonzaga, through lack of lands and water for fields, would never be able to support themselves, or the Indians to subsist

in them, but always hitherto they would go to live in the hills, he judged it best to abolish them both and move all the Indians to Todos Santos, which has much land and an abundance of water for crops, and that the few Indians composing Todos Santos should go to Santiago, where, with the families of the latter, they would form a fair-sized town.

At the same time he decided that some families from the mission of San Xavier, which had too many, should be added to the mission of San José del Cabo. In this way the three missions of the South would be well populated, and the Indians, being congregated in the towns, would be able to support themselves well. Moreover, much-needed ministers of two missions could thus be spared for the new conquests of Monterey, and in consequence the expenses of the Peninsula would be lessened, in so far as concerns the salaries of the missionaries.

In order that the stretch of about a hundred leagues which lies between San Francisco Xavier and Todos Santos might not be entirely depopulated by the extinction of these two missions, he decided to place at the mission of San Luís some white residents or Spaniards, so that by establishing their ranches there it might serve as a stopping place for travelers, the spiritual administration of the ranchers[15] to be cared for by the missionary father of San Xavier, which

is about forty leagues distant. Concluding, besides, from the reports, that the two missions of San José Cumundú and Purísima Concepción de Cadegomó had very few people, although they had enough land and water, and that the two missions of Guadalupe and Santa Gertrudis had too many villages, which they could never support in the pueblos because of the scarcity of land and water, he decided that the surplus should be taken from the first two and moved to San José and Purísima. In doing this it was his purpose that all the Indians should live in settlements, so that they might be instructed and civilized.

As soon as he had come to this decision, by the plenary powers which he had from his Excellency he put it into execution, issuing decrees and sending commissioners for the removal of the Indians from the two missions that were to be abolished. For the mission of San Luís he sent Don Juan Gutiérrez, chief adjutant, and for that of La Pasión he sent Don José Lázaro, alférez of dragoons. With them he sent the necessary soldiers, writing to the two missionaries that they were to deliver to the commissioners all the vestments and other articles that were to go to Santa Ana, and charging them at the same time to accompany the Indians until they were placed in Todos Santos.

This was done in the month of September,* and the people of the two towns, Los Dolores and San Luís, who comprised about eight hundred souls, were enrolled as residents in Todos Santos. To the mission of Santiago were sent the few who had been living in Todos Santos, and to San José del Cabo a village of forty-four souls went from San Xavier. With these additions the three missions of the South were completed.

The family of the discharged soldier Felipe Romero, with all his children, was moved to San Luís, he being given possession of the land. All the necessary vestments were left for that church so that Mass might be said whenever the missionary father of San Xavier could go there; and it was ordered that when there were two missionaries one of them should go once a month to say Mass. All the rest of the vestments, sacred vessels, and utensils of church and sacristy were destined for the new missions of Monterey, of which I shall speak farther on.

* This was in 1768.

CHAPTER VIII

JOURNEY OF THE REVEREND FATHER PRESIDENT TO THE CAMP OF SANTA ANA, IN ANSWER TO A CALL BY THE VISITOR-GENERAL; AND WHAT WAS DECIDED BY THE TWO ABOUT THE MISSIONS[16]

From the time when the visitor set foot on the Peninsula he wrote very frequently to the father president in regard to conditions in the missions of the Peninsula and to the orders from his Majesty which he had brought respecting the expeditions to Monterey. To these letters the reverend father president replied, but his Lordship, desiring to discuss these important matters by word of mouth, wrote to the president asking him to take the trouble to go to the camp of Santa Ana, so that they might decide between them upon the best measures for the welfare of the Peninsula and the propagation of our Holy Faith. In consequence of the letter of his Lordship the reverend father president went to the camp of Santa Ana, reaching it on the last day of October of the same year, 1768. There they

held a conference and decided some points in regard to the old missions as well as the new.

They resolved that stipends should be given to the missionaries as follows: for the old missions which had enough to get along with, four hundred pesos annually for each of the two missionaries, and for the most needy five hundred pesos;[17] and for Santa María, which was very new, and for those that might be founded later, seven hundred pesos. Besides, these were to be given the vestments, sacred vessels, and utensils necessary for the church and sacristy; and in addition they were to be given a thousand pesos to be spent for whatever might be judged necessary for their foundation.

His Lordship presented, for the consideration of the president, his order from the Court and the instructions of his Excellency to despatch an expedition by sea for the conquest and settlement of the ports of Monterey and San Diego, for which purpose he was awaiting his Majesty's two packets called *San Carlos* and *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* which were coming loaded with provisions and everything necessary for the enterprise. At the same time he said that he had decided to send by land another expedition, which should go from the mission of Santa María, the frontier of the heathen country, to San Diego, and which, after settling San Diego, should continue its journey to Monterey. For

this purpose it seemed to him best that missionaries should go both by sea and land, so that three missions might be founded, one at the port of San Diego, a second between this harbor and Monterey, and the third at the port of Monterey itself, and that if possible another might be founded beyond Santa María, on the road to San Diego, although for this more missionaries would be necessary.

When this proposal was heard by the reverend father president he gladly offered to go in person with one of the expeditions, adding that the companion whom he had left in Loreto might also go. He said, besides, that his Lordship might arrange that Bachelor Don Pedro Fernández, chaplain of the troops, who was unoccupied at the mission of San Francisco Xavier, should assume charge of the royal presidio and the mission of Loreto, since the number of Indians was small and they were all acquainted with the Spanish language. By this means two missionaries would be left unemployed, in addition to the two from the extinguished missions. He said that a letter could be written to the College asking for three more missionaries, and that, in consideration of the great undertaking in hand, they would not fail to send them, especially if his Excellency would intercede with a petition.

This suggestion pleased his Lordship at once, and he immediately put it into execution by

writing to his Excellency, who in consequence of the visitor's letter sent a note to the reverend father guardian, with a request for three more missionaries for California. Although the College was drained of missionaries it had to consent, in view of the great enterprise in hand, and in the hope that in a short time the mission of forty-five friars, whom the reverend father preacher, Fray Rafael Verger, had gone to bring from Spain, would arrive. Accordingly, the venerable Discretory resolved to send the father preachers, Fray Juan de Escudero, of the province of Burgos, Fray Juan Viscaíno, of the province of La Concepción, and Fray Benito Sierra, son of the College of San Fernando. They arrived at Cape San Lucas in the month of February. The second was chosen to go with the sea expedition, while the two[18] others were to go up to the old missions of the North to fill the vacancies left by those who were going to the new conquests.

At the same time the reverend father president wrote me that he and his Lordship had decided that Father Fray Juan Fernando Parrón ought to go to La Paz, to accompany the sea expedition, and, therefore, that he should be sent; and that in his place, as the visitor decided, Chaplain Don Pedro Fernández should be sent to Loreto. This was done, Father Fray Fernando embarking at Loreto in the packet *La*

Concepción on the 25th of November. He had such a fortunate voyage that in less than twenty-four days he was already in La Paz, and the chaplain mentioned above went to Loreto.

His Lordship decided, in order to cut down expenses, that from their surplus the old missions should provide for founding the new ones, especially as respects vestments, sacred vessels, and utensils of church and sacristy, for from the inventories it had been observed that they were well furnished, and that without feeling it they could donate something, and that, together with what they had from the two extinguished missions, they could furnish at least three. He also decided to go in person to the mission of Todos Santos and set aside what he judged to be superfluous; that his Reverence, in passing through the missions of the North, should collect everything which he thought proper; and that the same thing should be done at the mission of Loreto.

Likewise, regarding the expedition by land, his Lordship decided that, since there was not time to send to the mainland provinces across the Gulf for mules and horses, they should be supplied from the missions, only as many being taken as could be spared without causing inconvenience, and orders being given that they should be replaced by bringing others from Sonora. He also arranged that a stock of cattle should be

taken to supply the new missions, commissioning for this purpose Don Fernando Rivera, captain of the Leather-jacket Company, and second-in-command of the land expedition. All this was done, as I shall relate farther on.

As soon as the father president had arranged these affairs with the visitor-general, and it was determined how the expeditions were to be made, and that the father president was to go with the land expedition, he decided before going north to visit the three missions of Todos Santos, Santiago, and San José del Cabo. During this visit he saw what a hard time the father preacher Fray Juan Ramos de Lora had at the first mission with the Guicuros Indians, who had gone from the two extinguished missions to settle there. He concluded that it would be very difficult to establish them there, and so informed the visitor, in the hope of finding a remedy.

In the other two missions he observed that nearly all the Indians knew the Spanish language, and that Santiago especially might be raised to a parish, and in a short time San José also. In that way it would be possible for those two missionaries to go to the missions of the North or to the new ones, to work in whatever was most appropriate to our apostolic institute for the propagation of the faith. On his return he presented this idea to the visitor-general. He approved of it and wrote at once to Guaymas,

where the troop was, to ask them to send him its chaplain, Don Juan Antonio Baeza, with the object of sending him to the town of Santiago, which was about to be raised to a parish. All these affairs being finished, the reverend father president left La Paz and came by land to Loreto, where he arrived on the last day of January.[19]

Here he provided everything necessary for his journey, according to the charge and instructions of his Lordship, ordering made some vestments and other things necessary for the new missions, and taking from the sacristy everything the visitor-general had instructed him to take, in addition to what they had already sent to him at the pueblo of La Paz, so that it might be taken in the ships with the sea expedition. In this way the father president spent the time up to the 27th of March, when he left Loreto and traveled from mission to mission until he reached Santa María, frontier of the heathen country, where he found already there Don Gaspar de Portolá, commander of the expedition and governor of the Peninsula, with the soldiers for the journey. Don Fernando de Rivera, captain of the Leather-jacket Company and second-in-command, had gone long before to that frontier with all the mules and horses taken from the missions, as well as the cattle and provisions for the journey.

On the way[20] the reverend father president visited all the missions (except Santa Rosalía de Mulegé, which was about eighteen leagues off the road), to note in each one what they could spare for the new ones in the way of utensils for churches and sacristies. The father took some little things for the purpose of celebrating Mass along the road, and left orders that the rest should be sent to me at Loreto, so that they might go with the third ship, which was to follow the others, and, according to the plan of the visitor, was to sail in June. Of all these things he sent me a memorandum, so that I might receive them and take care to send them on the ship mentioned. He informed me at the same time of what had been taken from San Ignacio by the father preacher Fray Miguel de la Campa, who was going also to the new missions, and in company with the governor had left his mission for the frontier, where he expected soon to meet him.

In Part Two I shall give an account of the expeditions and their results, devoting this first part to what concerns the Peninsula; and, since what was taken for those expeditions ought to be included in the story of its missions, I shall give a report of it in the following chapter, with a statement of what was taken, from where, in whose charge, and what has been its destination.

CHAPTER IX

CONCERNING THE MULES AND CATTLE WHICH THE CAPTAIN TOOK FROM THE MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA BY ORDER OF THE VISITOR-GENERAL

In the last chapter I said that, for lack of time to bring from Sonora the mules and horses necessary for the land expedition, the visitor-general ordered that they should be supplied by the missions of California, and afterwards be replaced in kind. To collect them, with the rest of the things that might be considered necessary for the expedition, he commissioned Don Fernando de Rivera, captain of the company, and second-in-command, who was to go with the first division of the land expedition. The captain went ahead, touching at all the missions until he reached the frontier, with the object of collecting and providing the necessities for the journey. He began with the royal presidio and mission of Loreto, from which he took a considerable number of mules and horses, although I could not learn the number, as it fell to the charge of the governor. But for the other missions, since he left receipts in them for everything as the order directed, I was able from them to make up this detailed report.[21]

From the mission of San Francisco Xavier he took sixteen broken mules, for saddle and pack, and four good horses. The second division of the expedition took two sets of leather harness furnished with everything; two leather bags, and a liquor case with six flasks.

From the mission of San José de Cumundú he took twenty-three broken mules for saddle and pack, six broken horses, fifteen sets of leather harness furnished with everything, a cowhide for mending, twenty arrobas* of figs, a tierce of panocha, ninety arrobas of jerked meat, twenty arrobas of flour, and twenty almuds† of pinole.

From the mission of Purísima de Cadegomó were taken seven broken mules, four good horses, two of them provided with saddles and bridles, twenty-two leather bags, twenty bushels of wheat, eighteen arrobas of figs, four arrobas of panocha, twenty-three arrobas of raisins, eight arrobas of flour, a bushel and seven almuds of pinole, four loads of biscuit in eight hampers of green hide, and three sets of leather harness provided with everything.

From the mission of Guadalupe sixteen broken mules, four good horses, ten sets of leather harness furnished with everything, four leather bags, two hundred and fifty arrobas of jerked meat, and ten arrobas of beef tallow.

* An arroba is twenty-five pounds.

† An almud is a twelfth of a bushel.

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From the mission of Santa Rosalía de Mulegé, fifteen broken mules and three good horses.

From San Ignacio twenty broken mules, six good horses, two jennies, eight sets of leather harness furnished with everything, one bushel of pinole and another of wheat, two jugs of brandy and five of wine.

From Santa Gertrudis twenty-three broken mules, for saddle and pack, four broken horses, sixteen sets of leather harness furnished with everything, twelve bags made of tanned leather, four flasks of brandy and twelve that they filled with wine.

From San Francisco de Borja sixteen broken mules, eight horses, six mares, one stallion, ten sets of leather harness, two hundred head of cattle, most of them cows with their calves (all of which went except four head that were killed and carried jerked), a hammer and some branding forceps.

From Santa María de los Angeles, four broken mules harnessed and furnished with everything.

All of the above was taken from those missions for the expedition. The missions were paid for all the provisions mentioned; but for the rest, animals, harness, bags, etc., his Lordship decided that they should be replaced in kind.[22]

CHAPTER X

CONCERNING WHAT WAS TAKEN FROM THE MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA FOR THE NEW MISSIONS TO EQUIP THE CHURCHES AND SACRISTIES

Since the vestments, sacred vessels, and other utensils of church and sacristy for the new missions that were to be founded had not yet arrived, the visitor-general decided, for the time being, to provide them from the superfluous things which would not be missed by the old missions. Moreover, having extinguished the two missions above-named, Los Dolores and San Luís Gonzaga, he gave orders that all the vestments and utensils of those churches should go to the new ones, leaving at the church of San Luís only a chalice, vestments, and other things necessary for celebrating Mass, and sending all the rest to the port of La Paz, so that the ships might take them to Monterey. Of all this he made an invoice, of which his Lordship sent me a copy, and whose contents are as follows:

From the mission of Dolores: thirteen complete vestments of all colors, three albs, two altar cloths, a new vestment with gold and silver braid and with tassels; a palio, four choir

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soutanes, a silver chalice, with a paten and a little spoon, a large silver cup, silver oilstocks, a silver monstrance, a silver baptismal shell, a silver thurible, with boat and spoon of the same metal, three cassocks with their rochets, two surplices, another white vestment with alb and amice, a gold-lined silver chalice with a paten and a little spoon, a pair of silver cruets for wine and water, with a little plate and a bell of the same metal, some silver oilstocks, some silver cruets with a little plate, a silver cross with its pedestal, a carpet, two covers for the same, a large image of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores on linen, a copper-plate print of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, a small crib with the infant Jesus, the Virgin and Saint Joseph with several silk and gauze garments, a copper-plated stand for the baptismal font, three tower bells, and a bake-iron for making altar breads.

From the mission of San Luís: six complete vestments of all colors, five palia with their cloths, two new chasubles, three albs, three amices, three cinctures, two pairs of corporals, five altar cloths, four purificators, two rochets, three cassocks, a new carpet, some curtains for canopies, three veils for the Virgin, a black tomb cloth, six yards of lace a third of a yard wide, a small silver jar, a gold-lined silver chalice with its little spoon, a silver monstrance, two pairs of silver cruets for wine and water, a silver thurible

with a boat, a silver halo with twelve stars, six bronze candlesticks a yard high, six others three-quarters of a yard high, three others half a yard high, a small candlestick, a small altar bell, twelve silver coins and some rings for weddings, a bake-iron to make altar breads, a statue of Christ a yard high with a gilt pedestal, a copper baptismal font, and a silver shell for baptism.

Not content with this, the visitor-general went to the mission of Todos Santos and took from it some things for the same purpose of aiding the new foundations, sending to bring others from the church and sacristy of Loreto, which, according to the invoices that he sent from the port of La Paz, were as follows:

From the mission of Pilar, or Todos Santos: a new vestment of gold tissue, another of silk cloth with gold flowers and tassel, a classic alb with amice and cincture, three new altar cloths, a gold-lined silver chalice with paten and little spoon, a set of silver cruets for wine and water, with their little plate and bell of the same metal, a silver thurible with boat and little spoon, a silver stand for the missal, two large silver candlesticks, a new palio of silk cloth, a soutane of silk and silver, a statue of the Immaculate Conception a yard and a half high, with a silver crown, one of St. Joseph of the same size, with a diadem of silver, and a halo of the Divine Infant, also of silver.

From the mission of Loreto: six large silver candlesticks two-thirds of a yard high, a set of altar cards, palabrero, lavabo, and the Gospel of St. John, with silver frames, a silver missal stand, two small candlesticks of Chinese metal, a tower bell, a small carpet, two silver chalices with their patens and little spoons, three missals, two large and one small, a surplice, eight prints from bronze plates with frames of tortoise shell.

Everything mentioned up to here his Lordship ordered to be assembled at La Paz, whence he sent it with the sea expedition. It all reached San Diego with the exception of the statue of the Holy Christ with gilded pedestal and one yard high which is listed in the memorandum from the mission of San Luís, and the eight bronze prints with frames of tortoise shell from the mission of Loreto. These articles were sent in the packet *San José,* but as nothing has been heard from her for a long time, it is supposed that she was wrecked. There were also lost many ornaments of church and sacristy which his Lordship had ordered from Don José Trigo, factor of Guadalaxara, who sent them all, and without doubt they went down.

The zeal of the illustrious visitor was such that he wished to adorn the new missions as if they were cathedrals, for, as he said to the reverend father president, they must be beautified as much as possible, and the vestments must be

the very finest, so that the heathen might see how God our Lord was worshipped, and with what care and purity the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was said, and how the house of God our Lord was adorned, so that by this means they might be induced to embrace our Holy Faith. With this object in view he charged the reverend father president to take from the royal warehouse, as soon as he should reach Loreto, everything that he might need, and the same from the sacristy of Loreto; to have made everything that he might think necessary for the churches of the new missions; and to take, on going to the missions of the North, anything that he might consider superfluous to them.

In obedience to this charge he asked for certain things from the warehouse, and, as there was nothing with which to make some little necessities that were lacking, he took from the sacristy of Loreto the following: five yards of scarlet damask, five of China silk, three of blue taffeta, two new cinctures of cloth of gold with tassels, five yards of green cloth with gold flowers for a chasuble, and the necessary lining of scarlet taffeta, gold lace and fringe of the same for a muceta, a sash and its lining which he ordered made, some more of the same for another muceta with another sash which he made new, and a print of the Immaculate Conception with a tortoise-shell frame.

All of these things the father carried by land when he went to the frontier to join the expedition. Going by way of the missions of the North, and visiting the churches and sacristies, he made a memorandum of what each mission could spare without feeling it and sent it to me. The ministers were directed to send the things to Loreto, so that I might take charge of sending them by sea on the bark *San José,* which was to sail in July. I received everything, as I shall relate afterwards, with a statement of its destination. But first I shall say something about some trifles which the reverend father president carried by land for his journey, and about what was taken for the same purpose by fathers Fray Juan Crespi and Fray Miguel de la Campa, who also set out from the old missions for the new.

From the mission of Guadalupe the reverend father Crespi took some silver urns for the consecrated oil.

From the mission of San Ignacio Father Campa took the following: one white vestment, complete, with cape and frontal, two albs, one fine and the other ordinary, some altar cloths, one amice, one palio of new figured silk, a silver-plated chalice, some silver cruets for wine and water, with a little plate and bell, three small copper bells, a silver shell for baptizing, a consecrated altar, two large church candlesticks of copper, and six candlesticks of the same metal.

As Father Campa remained at the place called Vellicatá, to found the first mission dedicated to San Fernando, he kept all these articles for the purpose of celebrating Mass and giving the mission a start. He took also from San Ignacio a silver thurible with boat and spoon, but this went with the reverend father president to the new missions of Monterey, as did also what he took from the mission of Santa Gertrudis, namely, a used missal and some fine corporals; and from the mission of Santa María some silver oilstocks, a silver shell for baptizing, a bake-iron for making altar breads, a vestment of flowered silk with tassels, a palia with cloth, a silver chalice with its paten and spoon, six purificators, some altar cloths, some glass cruets, two hand-cloths, and a tin wafer box. All this served for celebrating Mass along the road, and remained at Monterey.

CHAPTER XI

CONTINUATION OF THE SUBJECT OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTER, IN REGARD TO WHAT WAS TAKEN FROM THE OLD MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA

In virtue of the orders of the visitor-general and of what the reverend father president, when he passed through the missions, had designated to be taken to provide the new missions of Monterey, the father missionaries sent it to Loreto. According to the letters of the reverend father president and of the ministers of the missions, it was as follows:

From the mission of San Xavier: a silver-plated chalice, with a paten and a little spoon, some silver cruets with little plates of the same metal, a small bronze bell, a consecrated altar, a new chasuble of cloth of gold, with everything necessary, another scarlet one, already used, with the corporals in the pocket, another one of green flowered silk, with its frontal and its corporals in the pocket, another one of purple damask, with silver fringe, frontal of the same, corporals, some cloths for the altar, a palia of figured silk of all colors, with its cloth, a fine alb, two amices

and one cincture, six purificators, two altar lamps, another set of corporals, and a Betancourt ritual.

From San José Cumundú: a silver chalice with its paten and little spoon, some silver cruets with their little plate, a silver shell for baptizing, two albs with their amices, one of them fine, a silver thurible without boat or spoon, two fine cinctures, two corporals, four purificators, two altar sconces, one chasuble of white damask with its front hanging, a palia, a consecrated altar, a bake-iron to make altar breads, a steeple bell, and an altar bell.

From La Purísima de Cadegomó: one chasuble of green flowered silk with silver galloons, a fine alb with amice and cincture, a steeple bell, and a small bell for the altar.

From the mission of Guadalupe: one silver chalice with its paten and little spoon, some silver cruets with their little plates, a silver thurible with its boat and spoon, two consecrated altars, one chasuble of flowered silk with silver galloon and frontal of the same, some corporals, two albs, one of them fine, a copper pot for holy water, a steeple bell, and a small bell for the altar.

All of the foregoing I received at Loreto, and after boxing it up, by order of the visitor-general I delivered it to the captain of the bark *San José,* Don Domingo Callegan, who set sail about the

middle of June from the royal camp of Loreto for the port of San Diego. But when at the end of three months the ship returned in distress to the port of Escondido with the foremast injured, and I saw that it was necessary for it to return to San Blas for repairs, I took out of it all these vestments and utensils, leaving only the bells, the Holy Christ from San Luís, and the little box of copper-plate prints from Loreto. Receiving news at the same time that the first mission had already been founded at Vellicatá, with the name of San Fernando, I sent all this to its founder and master, Father Fray Miguel de la Campa, who was in great need of it, for he had only what he had taken from San Ignacio, as mentioned above. By this arrangement the articles served their purpose and were saved from being lost on the bark, as must have happened to the bells and other things that are listed above.

In addition to what was taken from the extinct mission of San Luís, of which I wrote in the preceding chapter, and which his Lordship sent with the packets that made the expedition by sea, there was another vestment and everything necessary for celebrating Mass which had been left unboxed, so that it might serve on the journey for the moving of the towns mentioned above. It was in the care of the father minister of the mission of San Luís, Fray Andrés Villaumbrales. When he arrived with his Indians at

the port of La Paz he received a letter from the visitor-general directing him to embark on the sloop which was to sail for Loreto, so he also put on board the vestment mentioned, and it was sent to the frontier mission of Santa María, so that it might serve on the expedition. It was taken by Father Fray Juan Crespi, who went with the captain in the first division of the expedition. So that it may be on record, I do not omit to set it down, as follows: a silver plated chalice (which serves also as a base for the monstrance) with its paten and small spoon; some silver cruets with their little plates of the same metal and a little brass bell; a chasuble of red and white damask, with frontal piece of the same, trimmed with gold galloon; two chalice cloths, one white and the other red, with pockets of the two colors; corporals, and a frontal of the same cloth; a fine alb with amice and cincture; some altar cloths and palia, with their coverings; a purificator and an altar sconce, a carpet already used, and a copper baptismal font with its cover.

All this reached San Diego and was sent, with everything else mentioned, for the three missions of San Diego, San Carlos, and San Buenaventura, according to the orders of the visitor-general. And what is listed above as taken from the other missions was destined for the mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá. Of

all this his Lordship ordered a statement made, and sent it to his Excellency and to the Court.

I have wished to speak at length upon this point, and to set forth with all clarity what is said above, in order to put on record for the future what was taken from the old missions of California while they were in charge of my College, so that it may be known who took it, by whose order, what was the destination of the things that were taken, and where they are at present, all in the service of the missions. The visitor did no more than follow the custom that had been practiced by the Jesuit fathers in the founding of missions, for in so far as they could the old assisted the new that were being founded, as appears in the books of those missions. To some extent recompense was made for what had been taken, for eight thousand five hundred pesos' worth of ordinary clothing was sent to be distributed among the Indians of all the missions, who were very well clothed that year. And to the church of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, at his own request, his Excellency the Marquis de Croix, Viceroy of New Spain, sent a fine set of vestments for celebrating High Mass, complete in everything. He ordered that payment be made for everything listed, provisions and supplies, which were taken from the missions for the expeditions spoken of above.

He desired also to pay for the mules, the horses, and the rest; but I told him that the missions needed the mules and horses, and that we had no means of bringing them from the provinces across the Gulf. He therefore left an order that they should be taken from the royal warehouse of Loreto, and replacement made in kind. He directed that the missions should be given the gold and silver bullion found on the expulsion of the Jesuit fathers, which was over five thousand pesos. For the church of Loreto he assigned two hundred and fifty pesos annually to pay for oil for the lamp and the wax necessary for church services; and he did many other pious acts for the benefit of the missions. These things, together with those already set down, well replaced the things taken from the old missions for the new. To the mission of Todos Santos he sent a large launch.

CHAPTER XII

OTHER MEASURES TAKEN BY THE VISITOR-GENERAL DURING HIS STAY IN THE SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT OF CALIFORNIA

The visitor-general remained more than nine months in the Southern Department of California, because of the delay of the ships that were to go with the expedition by sea to Monterey, and of the great trouble they gave him in getting them provisioned and despatched, but of this matter I shall speak in Part Two. Although these expeditions were the principal object of his attention, he did not fail to find time, in his high capacity and his laborious genius, to work for the benefit of California, finding ways to populate the deserts of which it is composed, and leaving means to maintain our Holy Faith in it. I have already spoken in the sixth chapter of some measures which he took for the benefit of the Peninsula, and in this chapter I shall continue the same subject.[23]

His Lordship gave heed to the many citizens who were in the mining camps of San Antonio del Oro and Santa Ana. Of those who were living on ranches, and the many whom he had

brought as settlers and miners, he decided to form a good[24] settlement with the name of Real de Minas. He decided to locate the capital at the place called Santa Ana, and to raise the chapel there into a curacy, to be administered by Bachelor Don Isidro Ibarzábal, the one, as I said in the second chapter, who embarked for California with the Observant Fathers. Although this father saw the Observants returned as soon as we arrived, those nearest to Loreto sailing in the same bark, *La Concepción,* in which we came, and the rest in a launch, he did not wish to go with them, and remained at the house of Don Manuel de Ocio. In this way it came about that the visitor set his eye upon him as curate of the settlement mentioned above. He was named as its first curate by the one who came with the visitor-general as chaplain, with all the powers of the most Illustrious Lord Bishop of Guadalaxara, the appointment being approved by the visitor as vice-patron.

In order that the building of the church might be taken in hand, he ordered a thousand pesos given to the curate from the royal warehouse which he had placed in that settlement. This sum was received immediately by the curate, and some citizens also gave alms to aid the work. For the support of the curate he ordered that he be given from the royal warehouse one peso daily, judging that this would be sufficient,

together with the obventions that would fall to him, for which he made a schedule to which the curate must conform. He left in the settlement a lieutenant-governor, to take charge of criminal and civil affairs in the southern district. He also left a royal commissary to take charge of the department of exchequer and mining, and ordered that a mine should be worked on account of the warehouse, so that with its income the expenses incurred by his Majesty up to that time on the Peninsula might be repaid. At the same time he formed three companies of militia, giving to them the appropriate commissions, as captains and subaltern officers, which he had brought.

He decided, as well, that in the new settlement mechanical trades should be established, and that unmarried youths should be sent from the missions to be taught, four from each one, in order that after being instructed they might return to their respective missions to work and teach others. These young men were assigned to the camp of Santa Ana, and put in charge of the new curate, to whom were entrusted, also, as a man acquainted with it, the cultivation of the prickly pear for seed, for it was found that it nurtured the wild cochineal insect. With these young men he would be able to cultivate the prickly pear, so that it might afterwards be raised at all the missions.

Besides the settlement spoken of above, he made an attempt to found another at the very Cape of San Lucas, on the bay of San Bernabé, putting there as its head the lieutenant of the Leather-jacket Company, with three soldiers, and enlisting citizens as settlers, although the latter did not go there to live. His purpose in establishing these settlements was to guard Cape San Lucas, and to assist the ship from China, which he desired to have take on water there. He decided likewise that the port of La Paz should be settled in the same way as the bay of San Bernabé, with a sergeant and two soldiers stationed there to guard the things that the ships would bring to outfit the camp of Santa Ana. In order that these settlements might be effected he appointed a commissary, leaving with him some money for the building of houses and anything else that might come up, and delegating to him the powers of judge of lands, so that he might give possession to the citizen settlers in the name of his Majesty. For this office Don Manuel García Morales, captain of militia of one of the companies, was named.

While the visitor busied himself in sending off the ships to Monterey, and in the other measures spoken of above, the removal of the families of superfluous Indians from the mission of Guadalupe was carried out. They went very cheerfully to live at the missions of

Purísima and San José, being divided between the two. But when the same thing was proposed to those of Santa Gertrudis they refused, and the promises made to them, that they would have better lands and plenty to eat there, did not avail. On the contrary, there were signs that rather than move they would return to heathen life. As they were seen to be somewhat excited, it was necessary to postpone their removal and report to the visitor. For this reason the mission was left as before, with a small number of families living in the town and the rest in the hills. The same thing happened at the last two missions, San Borja and Santa María, but all the rest on the Peninsula did as his Lordship desired, all living at the missions, so that they might be instructed and civilized.

In the month of March Bachelor Don Juan Antonio Baeza arrived at the town of La Paz. As I said in chapter eight, he had been appointed by the visitor to take charge of the administration of the town of Santiago de las Coras. The proposal having been made to him by the visitor he agreed to it, and by the vicar-general of the bishop of Guadalaxara and the visitor he was given the office of curate. He went to receive this position and it was conferred upon him by the father preacher Fray José Murguía.[25] A formal inventory, signed by both, was made of everything belonging to the church and mission,

and left in the mission of Loreto; and a copy was made, signed also by both, to be sent to the College for any use that might arise in the future. With this arrangement the College was relieved of the care of this mission, and its missionary, thus freed, made one more for the missions of Monterey, for Father Murguía had begged the reverend father president for permission to go to them, and had been promised it if he should succeed in turning over his mission. As both expeditions, by sea and land, had already started, it was arranged that a third bark, named the *San José,* should go and touch at Cape San Lucas. In view of this the curate begged Father Murguía—and he availed himself of the influence of the visitor—to remain with him in the town named until he could embark, to instruct the new curate in the management of the mission or new parish. Father Murguía agreed, and remained with him until he fell ill, as I shall say in the proper place.

When the father missionary of San José del Cabo saw the town of Santiago elevated into a curacy, he wrote to the visitor and begged him to do the same with his town, urging the same reasons that were presented for the change at Santiago. When the visitor learned of the proposal of Father Preacher Fray Juan Morán, missionary of the former mission, he was obliged to promise him that he would send another priest

from the province of Sonora to receive the mission, and that he might then go and work in the missions of the North, but that if by chance he did not wish to wait so long, he might entrust the administration of his mission to the new curate of Santiago, who would care for it as a dependent town. With this in view the visitor wrote to the curate, directing him, in case the father missionary of San José del Cabo should wish to leave, to administer that town as a substation.

CHAPTER XIII

EMBARKATION OF THE VISITOR AT THE PORT OF LA PAZ, HIS ARRIVAL AT LORETO, AND WHAT HE DETERMINED UPON WHILE IN THAT CAMP

As soon as his Lordship had finished despatching the two packets for the port of Monterey, and had completed the repairs of the third, which was to sail from Loreto in June, with the provisions and other things for the new missions that had been left behind, he decided to go to Loreto by sea, in order to save horses and other extraordinary expenses which are unavoidable in traveling by land. With this in view he set sail at the port of La Paz on April 14, in the bark *San José,* in company with the father missionaries who had come from the College, Fray Juan Escudero, son of the holy province of Burgos, and Fray Juan Benito Sierra, son of our holy College, as I said in chapter eight. They left that port, convoyed by the sloop, and on the twenty-second of the same month arrived safely at the camp of Loreto. I was then at the town because of a letter which I had received a few days previously at the mission

of San Xavier, in which the visitor told me to go at once to Loreto, since he needed me there on his arrival, which he expected would be very soon, and that he could not remain many days because of news that he had received from Guaymas in the last letters. He added that it was very important for him to go at once to Sonora, so that the expedition to the Cerro Prieto might be concluded.

Upon his arrival at Loreto his Lordship told me that he had decided to continue the mission of Loreto, because it had been the first on the Peninsula; that I was to stay as minister there to get it in running order, since I had remained as president in the absence of the reverend father prior, Fray Junípero Serra; and that he would leave an order to bring families of Indians from other missions which had too many, until the number of one hundred, over and above the nineteen that it already had, should be completed. He added that for the present twenty-five should be brought from the mission of San Xavier, where they were too numerous, so that they might get the village ready, and that for the term of a year they should be given rations from the royal store at the rate of an almud and a half of corn a week.

I asked him how they could support themselves afterwards, as the mission of Loreto, although it had plenty of land, lacked water, and

as it had been shown by experience that less rain fell there than anywhere else in California. He replied that the mission had the ranch of San Juan, and that by supplying meat to the royal storehouse they could get corn for their subsistence and garments with which to clothe themselves. He said, moreover, that they might help support themselves by manual labor, and he left orders that they should be given, besides the ration, six pesos a month when they worked for the royal warehouse or in other labor that might offer itself. And he added that they could help support themselves by fishing and selling fish to the people of the camp, and also by pearl diving, for which he would order that the mission be given a canoe. He believed that by this and other means that would arise they could support themselves very well. I had to agree to this, in view of what has been said above, as well as because some one of the missionaries had to be at Loreto to look after the supplies and the accounts of the missions with the storehouse.

His Lordship settled upon the annual stipend to be given me in Mexico for the maintenance of the two missionaries. He fixed it at five hundred and fifty pesos, besides the two hundred and fifty to pay for the wax and the oil for the lamp, as I said in chapter eleven. He added that he would leave decrees for everything, and that he would also leave orders that the garden of the

warehouse should be given to the mission, to help support it with the produce, and that he would prepare instructions to be followed in the founding of the mission and in everything else.

This was not all he did, for he decided also to found a marine college, so that boys might be taught, and the launches of the missions manned by them, not only those that the missions then had, but also those that he had ordered built at San Blas, one for each mission. He directed that to form this college the orphans from ten to fourteen years of age should be brought from the missions, the number to be set at forty students. For their maintenance, for the present, the storehouse would give one hundred bushels of corn, and as for the rest, they could support themselves by their work and the resources of the mission.

He employed the days of his visit in making these arrangements, in preparing the decrees and the instructions promised for the government of the missions, in examining the accounts of the storehouse and the soldiers, and in reducing their wages and deciding what they should receive daily in future. This was, for those of the South, four reals daily, with the condition that from it they must provide their food and furnish the necessary riding animals, arms, powder, and balls; for those who were to serve between Loreto and Santa María inclusive, five reals, and

for those who were to serve in the expeditions and the new reductions, six reals. In view of this large reduction in the wages, a reduction was also made at the warehouse in the prices of goods and provisions.

He fixed rates for everything, including all kinds of clothing and the other things that would be sold to them at the warehouse, as well as for the food. He set the prices for them as follows: corn, which was four pesos, he put at three pesos and four reals; beans and chick-peas, which were six pesos a bushel, he put at five; lard, which was six pesos an arroba, he put at three; fresh meat, which was six reals, he put at two; dried meat, which was twelve reals, he reduced to six; tallow candles he reduced from six pesos to twenty-two reals an arroba;[26] wine, which was six reals, he put at four; and brandy he put at seven reals a quart, its previous price having been ten. He added in regard to the last two items that the missions were to sell them to the warehouse one real cheaper, that is, wine at three and brandy at six reals, so that they might make this profit on their work in selling the products of the missions. Dried figs, which were six pesos an arroba, he put at four, but he ordered that the warehouse should pay the missions only three pesos for them.

All these regulations, with his decrees, he left in writing with the temporary governor and

royal commissary, Don Juan Gutiérrez. His visit concluded, he embarked in the sloop on the first day of May, 1769, taking with him the chaplain of the expedition, Don Pedro Fernández, who, up to that time, had administered the royal presidio and mission of Loreto. Convoyed by the sloop sailed the packet *San José,* which, as I said, was destined to go in June to San Diego with help for the expedition. For that voyage it returned to Loreto as soon as it had landed the visitor at the town of Santa Cruz de Mayo on the bay of Santa Bárbara, whence he went up to the camp of Los Alamos, for the purpose of making arrangements for the expedition of the troops to the Cerro Prieto.

CHAPTER XIV

WHAT HAPPENED IN CALIFORNIA AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE VISITOR

Finding myself left at liberty by the departure of the visitor, and charged with reforming the mission of Loreto, I went to that of San Xavier to deliver it to the father preacher Fray Juan Escudero, so that he might take charge of it as its minister. I assembled the twenty-five families who were willing to go to Loreto to settle, and went thither with them. I then sent Father Fray Benito Sierra to take charge of the mission of Mulegé, and directed Father Fray Juan Gastón to go to Purísima Concepción de Cadegomó, which had been without a missionary since February, when Father Fray Juan Crespi left it to go on the land expedition, leaving it in charge of the missionary of San José Cumundú.[27]

After I was relieved of all this, the provisional governor and commissary of the royal warehouse of Loreto, Don Juan Gutiérrez, delivered to me the decrees which the visitor-general had left with him, the instructions for the mission, and a copy of the schedule of prices. When I

had learned its contents I came to the conclusion that such a mission could not exist in Loreto, and that all the rest would soon deteriorate, because by the schedule the price of tallow, lard, figs, wine, and brandy, had been greatly reduced. These products were the only resource and income of the missions, and must provide the Indians with garments with which to clothe themselves, and with corn in the years when there was no harvest, for it is very common not to gather enough. Notwithstanding my fears, I decided to trust to experience that time would bring, so that with the added knowledge I might go to the visitor for a remedy, although I knew very well that it would be difficult to obtain it, considering the reduction that had been made in the pay of the soldiers.

On June 12 the new governor, Don Matías de Armona, sergeant-major of the Regiment of the Crown, arrived at Loreto. As he had received a letter from the visitor directing him to go to the camp of Los Alamos to meet him and get his instructions for the new administration, he decided not to take possession until after his return from that journey. As he remained in Loreto until the 24th of the same month, during these days he learned about everything from the provisional governor, and in consequence he assured me that he would not return to the Peninsula. He gave me as his reason the fact

that there was no allowance for the pay of the soldiers, for the visitor had stated that it was necessary for his Majesty to use the thirty-four thousand pesos which formerly had been spent annually on the Leather-jacket Company, and that his Lordship desired that these expenses should be borne by the Peninsula itself. He added that the resources that had been left, besides being inadequate, were very fortuitous, as they belonged to other branches of the royal exchequer, which, indeed, came forward later with a petition for the income from them.

I felt great sympathy for this gentleman in his discouragement, for in the few days that he was in Loreto I recognized in him all the qualities requisite for a good governor. I endeavored to console him, and told him, since he was going to meet his Lordship, to speak to him, and perhaps he would find other means for the payment of the soldiers. He promised to do so, and said that if he succeeded he would return to work for the good of the Peninsula.

I explained to him my fear of the deterioration of the missions on account of the new rates; and I showed him, and he saw with his own eyes, that all the profit from the meat used in Loreto, a little more than fifty arrobas weekly, was not equal to the wages of the cowboys; for they were paid, besides the ration, sixteen pesos in wages, while the meat was worth little more than twelve.

I explained other points to him, so that he might speak of them to the visitor. He promised to do this, and to write to me in regard to them in case he did not return to the Peninsula. He then bade me farewell, and the galliot in which he had come from San Blas set sail and left on the 24th of June.

In the latter part of the preceding month of May the academicians sent by the courts of Spain and France to observe the transit of Venus had disembarked. As the time was very short until the transit, they stopped in San José del Cabo, which was the port made by the packet *La Concepción,* in which they came. They were welcomed and entertained by Father Fray Juan Morán, minister of that mission, as best he could, until the arrival at the mission of Captain Don Manual García Morales, who was appointed by the visitor to entertain them in his name, and to bear all the expense, not permitting the gentlemen to spend a cent. His Lordship practiced this generosity toward them, notwithstanding that they received stipends from both monarchs for their maintenance. They succeeded in making the observation to their entire satisfaction, but as soon as the day of the observation had passed they and all the Indians of the mission were attacked by a contagious fever, from which many died, including two of the academicians, as well as members of their retinue.[28]

For the purpose of assisting in the care and management of the sick, the father prior Fray José Murguía went from Santiago to San José. As I have already said, he was staying with the curate, awaiting the *San José,* in order to embark and sail to the port of San Diego; but, a few days after his arrival he felt himself stricken by the same disease, and he decided to leave there and go to Cape San Lucas to await the bark, hoping to recover there. But he felt worse instead, and being now in danger of death, he resolved to go in that condition to Todos Santos, taking the beach road in order not to pass through San José, for the whole town was infected. He succeeded in reaching the mission of Todos Santos, but almost in his last agonies, for his malady had grown worse; yet it was God's will that he should recover, although he was not entirely well until November.

At this time the father missionary Fray Juan Morán was working in San José in the management and care of the afflicted. Going one day to confess a sick man outside of the mission, he felt himself stricken. It was with such virulence that there was no time for him to receive the holy sacraments; in fact, the curate of Santiago, whom he summoned for this purpose, found him seated upon a crate, already dead. This happened on 18th of July of the same year, 1769, and without doubt God took

him to reward him for his labors. Although I was pained because he had not received the holy sacraments, I was consoled by the thought of his righteous life, and by the good repute in which he was held by all for his piety.

On account of the death of this father the curate of Santiago assumed the administration of the town of San José as a sub-station, according to the orders of the visitor. In this way the towns mentioned remained outside of the care of the College and in charge of the mitre of Guadalaxara, as did also the settlement or mining camp of Santa Ana, with all the neighboring ranches, only the mission of Todos Santos remaining in the care of Father Fray Juan Ramos de Lora.

CHAPTER XV

CONTINUATION OF THE SUBJECT OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTER

The missionaries were working, each in his own mission, in what pertains to spiritual matters, the chief concern of our apostolic institute, and also in temporal affairs, as a means to secure this principal end, when suddenly the measles appeared. They swept through all the missions of the North, including Loreto, causing the death of many Indians of all ages. They had not yet come out of that epidemic when another more serious disease appeared, in which also many died, so that in a short time the two missions of San José Cumundú and La Purísima were left with the small number which they had before the surplus from Guadalupe were added to them. The last-named mission remained short of Indians, for, since only the necessary number had been retained, the epidemics now left a shortage. The same thing happened at San Xavier, although not to such a degree, as the disease did not make such ravages there. In the two towns of Santiago and San José the havoc was great, for all

those who had been moved from Todos Santos to Santiago died, as did also some of those native to the last-named place. The same thing happened at the mission of San José del Cabo, where all of those from San Xavier died, leaving only one of the twelve families who had moved there. Many of its natives also died.

The havoc was greatest at Todos Santos, for in the first epidemic at that mission more than three hundred died, including adults and children. Since many of them ran away and died in the woods, the exact number could not be ascertained. The Guicuros Indians who were sent from the two extinct missions had never wished to settle at Todos Santos, not so much because they were moved as because they were made to live in a town; for in their former missions they had lived wandering in the hills, subsisting on wild food. For this reason they were always discontented, and destroyed everything the mission had. They stole whatever they could, without any regard for the authority of the visitor, who was obliged to go in person from Santa Ana to Todos Santos to correct them. He found so little improvement that the very day he made a movement to punish them they stole the food that was prepared for him; and the night before he was to leave for Santa Ana they stole everything that had been prepared for the journey. His Lordship was so angered by all

this that it was necessary for the fathers who were there to restrain him in order to prevent him from hanging some of them, whom he had already ordered confessed. He shouted that such a race of people deserved to be put to the knife, so that they might not corrupt the others. But there was no improvement, and it was necessary to have soldiers just to gather up the deserters, while a thousand chimeras were launched against the father missionary, as I shall set forth in the proper place.

In the middle of August came the gift of clothing which was sent by the governor, I should say the visitor. It was valued in Mexico, as I said, at eight thousand five hundred pesos; and, by asking from the royal storehouse for one thousand five hundred pesos more, on account of the missionaries, the ten thousand pesos were completed. This clothing I distributed among all the missions, and with it the father missionaries clothed all their Indians, and all were clad better than ever before. In the succeeding years the fathers continued to clothe the Indians, taking garments from the royal warehouse on account of the missions and paying for them with the wine and oil and fruits produced; but they were never able to clothe them as well as this first year, partly because the warehouse was never provided with the clothing necessary for the whole Peninsula.

Embracing the opportunity, when I wrote to the visitor, to thank him in the name of all the missionaries for the gift of clothing, I took pains to point out to him that I feared that in the future the missions would not be able to afford this expense, nor even the amount which the Jesuit fathers were in the habit of spending; for the products of the country were very much lower in price now than formerly, and they were the only things the poor Indians had for their subsistence and clothing. The visitor received the letter, but he got it when he was in bed with a fever which lasted forty days. For this reason he did not reply to me on the subject, although he showed that he was aware of it.

In the month of October he sent a new commissary of the royal warehouse, Don Antonio López de Toledo, with the commission of lieutenant-governor, because the person who was there temporarily had received permission to retire to his regiment, and the governor, Don Matías de Armona, was occupied with the expedition to Cerro Prieto. The governor wrote me that he had not been able to speak to his Lordship in regard to the measures entrusted to him for the benefit of the Peninsula, because whenever he spoke to him of California he became angry. At this same time I received a letter from the visitor, in reply to what I wrote above, in which he told me that with the measures and instruc-

tions which he had given and were being brought by the new commissary of Loreto I might dry my tears, and that for the rest I might appeal to Divine Providence.

The new commissary, who arrived at Loreto on October 23, 1769, showed me the instructions that he carried. In one of them he was told to deliver to me the utensils that I might consider necessary for the service of the mission of Loreto; and to ask me for a receipt for them and send it to him, so that it might be determined whether or not they should be charged to the mission of Loreto.

These instructions alluded to one of the points about which I had written, telling him that all the utensils, for the house as well as for the common use of the Indians, had been taken by the warehouse, leaving not even a plate or a napkin for the use of the missionary fathers, not the smallest thing, not even a pot, nor a saucepan, nor a metate for grinding the food of the Indians. I told him that when I appealed to the provisional governor, who had charge of the warehouse, he had replied that everything belonged to the royal warehouse, and that he had received it by inventory from his predecessor, Don Francisco Trillo. It availed nothing to remind him that this mission in the time of the Jesuit fathers kept an account separate from the warehouse, and was the best furnished with

utensils of all those of the Peninsula; that it had paid the warehouse for all of them, as appears in the books of accounts for the time of those fathers, and that therefore his Illustrious Lordship should order the royal commissary to deliver to the mission what belonged to it. To this point his Lordship replied by sending me the foregoing instructions which he gave to the new commissary. Besides these instructions he gave him others which the commissary told me about. They run in this manner:

In the task of taking the salt to the landing of the island of Carmen, and in all the rest of the royal works, the commissary shall employ the Indians of the mission of Loreto, and any more that may be needed from the other missions, giving them on account of the royal exchequer the usual rations without any other day wages, because all true vassals are under obligation to serve the king.

In another paragraph of these instructions he says to the commissary that he shall settle the salt-beds of the island of Carmen with sufficient people; that he shall make there a warehouse for storing the salt; and that he shall keep a supply of it, so that all the ships may take it to San Blas on their return voyages. The commissary told me of these instructions, saying that he had to put them in force immediately; that therefore the Indians should get ready; and that since there were but a few at Loreto the mission-

aries of the neighboring missions should be asked to send workmen for the royal service, for there would be need of many.

Hearing this, and bearing in mind that the neighboring missions, on account of the epidemic mentioned above, had been left very short of Indians and lacked enough for the farms, so that, through not being able to cultivate the land, they were obliged to buy corn from the warehouse at such a high price that great harm, if not destruction, would result to the missions, to the discredit of the missionaries, I desired to put an end to this mischief. With this object I asked the commissary what day wages he would give the Indians. He replied, none at all, but only rations to those who should work, and given to them only for the time of the work, as his Lordship ordered in the instructions. I asked him, besides, who was to support their wives and families; who would give them their clothing, and take care of them if they fell sick? To all this he replied that the missions must do it. I then told him: "Well, if the missions have to support and clothe the Indians, the Indians must work for the missions; and therefore, until they are paid for their work the monthly sum of six pesos, as his Lordship ordered in the regulations that he left, I cannot furnish a single Indian, because I am convinced that these orders are surreptitious,[29] if not fraudulent, for in them there is no mention

made of the wages which were set for them a few months previously." I added that the execution of these instructions should be suspended until representations were made, and thereupon he took his leave.

The schooner being ready to sail for the port of San Blas, by it I reported to the reverend father guardian and the venerable Discretory. The letter had such good fortune that in eighteen days the reverend father guardian had already replied to me in the name of the venerable Discretory, saying that it had not appeared best to them to appeal to his Excellency, since they were certain that he would reply by telling them to go to the visitor-general. Therefore they judged it better for me, as president, to write to that gentleman, since he was in Sonora, and present to him the inconvenience and losses that would result to the missions, and ask him if, in view of them, he would deign to revoke that order; and that, in case this could not be done, I should send a copy of my representation, with the original of the reply that he might give to it, so that the venerable Discretory might present it to his Excellency.

This reply did not have the same good fortune as the letter, for it was delayed for months in reaching my hands. But I did not wait for it to advance this business; for at the same time that I wrote the letter to my College I wrote a

circular letter to the missions, telling them all that has been related above, sending them a copy of the decision of the visitor, and asking what I ought to do. And to the father missionary, Fray Ramos de Lora, who was named by the College as president in my absence, I added that he should come to Loreto, because I was thinking of going in person to Sonora to have a conference with the visitor; and that therefore he should entrust his mission of Todos Santos to Father Fray José Murguía, whom I judged to be now convalescent, and himself come immediately.

He did so, arriving at Loreto on December 2, when I already had received the opinion of all the missionaries. One and all they told me that I must resign the care of the temporal affairs of the missions, so that if they should be destroyed or injured by the enforcement of that order it could not be attributed to the missionaries of San Fernando. Having examined these opinions, and seeing that there was not time enough for all the missionaries to sign the renunciation, because a sloop was sailing very soon for Sonora, I signed it in the name of all, the missionaries of the three nearby missions being able to sign with me.

I desired to take the renunciation in person, so as to present to the visitor various other points pertaining to the missions; but, after conferring

with Father Ramos, it turned out that he thought he ought to go, in order to inform the visitor of the state of the Indians in his mission, and to see if he could find some means for quieting the Guicuros Indians there. Between us we made a memorandum of all the points that were to be discussed with that gentleman, and with this memorandum, the renunciation, and my letter, he embarked in a small sloop for Santa Cruz, in company with Don Juan Gutiérrez, the acting governor.

CHAPTER XVI

JOURNEY OF FATHER FRAY JUAN RAMOS DE LORA; AND WHAT WAS DONE IN REGARD TO THE MATTER TREATED IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER

As soon as Father Fray Juan Ramos landed in Sonora, in company with Don Juan Gutiérrez, they heard that the visitor had fallen ill in the town of Los Ures, and that it was said that he was about to set out for the mining camp of Chihuahua. In view of this, Don Juan wrote a letter to the visitor, telling him that he had arrived in company with Father Ramos, and that both were going to see his Lordship. This letter he despatched by courier, and they went up to Los Ures. On the road they were met by his reply, telling them not to tire themselves, for they could not now overtake him, as he was going in great haste to the mining camp of Chihuahua, and that therefore Don Juan should retire to his regiment, and might speak to him in Querétaro. He added that he should tell Father Ramos that if the business which had moved him to go to see him must be dealt with personally he might go to Mexico, where they could meet, in which case

he should go to the camp of Los Alamos, where the royal officials, on seeing that letter, would give him everything necessary for the journey, but that if he did not wish to take this trouble he could write to him and be certain that the letter would be attended to equally as well as if he went in person.

Father Ramos, therefore, decided to return to Loreto, where he arrived on the 14th of March, 1770. After he had told me all the foregoing, and had delivered a copy of the letter which he had asked of Don Juan Gutiérrez, we two decided to report to the reverend father guardian at length, so that he might have a conference with the visitor. I wrote the letters, giving a detailed account of all the measures that his Lordship had taken for the missions; what had been done, and the results; as also the measures that ought to be sought from his Excellency or the visitor-general for the advancement of the missions. These reports were taken by the father preacher Fray Dionisio Basterra, who, on account of illness, was retiring to the College. On the 19th of March he left on the sloop mentioned above, which was going to Santa Cruz de Mayo, and on the 25th of the same month Father Ramos embarked on the launch of his mission for the port of La Paz. I charged him to tell Father Murguía to come to Loreto, so that he might be nearer at hand to communicate with

and to go by land to San Diego, according as the news might come, since he had been prevented from embarking in the packet *San José*. Father Murguía did this, arriving at Loreto in the early part of May in the same year, but he could not set out for the new missions on account of what happened, as I shall set forth later.

CHAPTER XVII

ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR DON MATÍAS ARMONA ON THE PENINSULA, AND WHAT WAS DONE IN HIS TIME IN FAVOR OF THE MISSIONS

I have already said that Don Matías de Armona, learning of the state of the Peninsula, was discouraged, and went to see the visitor, with the intention of not returning. But when he reached the camp of Los Alamos he found his Lordship in trouble, for the four rivers of the province had risen, and at the same time the country was in rebellion. Trusting in the valor and energy of Armona, Gálvez confided to him the task of pacifying the rebels, and he quickly accomplished it, having enough troops to bring about the desired end.[80]

This business concluded, without saying the least thing to him about the government of California, the visitor named Armona commander of one of the four columns which were to go up to Cerro Prieto, which duty he performed. On coming down from this engagement he was met with the news that the visitor was ill, and that he had decided to go from Ures to Mexico, by

way of Chihuahua. In view of this, and of the fact that he had received no reply to his resignation of the governorship of California, which he had already made, he, too, decided to go to Mexico; but, not having the permission of his Excellency, he despatched a courier to ask it, and went to Rosario to await it. But when the answer came it was that he should go to his post. Not satisfied with this, he again wrote to his Excellency, giving his reasons for declining the office, which were that he had learned that there was no allowance for the payment of the soldiers, and that the poverty of the Peninsula and its needs were evident to him. Nevertheless, he received another order to go to his government, his Excellency promising that he would lack nothing, for on the same date he was writing to San Blas, Alamos, and Guaymas to have everything that he might ask for sent to him in California. So he embarked, and arrived at Cerralvo on the thirteenth of June of the same year of 1770. As soon as he reached the camp of Santa Ana he informed me of his arrival, enclosing an official letter in which he asked for a report on the state of the missions, and how the new reductions could be advanced without extraordinary expense to the royal treasury. He added that it was for the royal council which, by order of his Majesty, had given him his commission in the city of Guadalaxara.

As soon as I received these letters I decided to go to the South, to welcome this gentleman, and with this object in view I left Loreto on the fourth of July, going first to Todos Santos to see Father Ramos. As I remained some days with this father, I prepared the report for which the governor asked me, and delivered it into his own hand at the camp of Santa Ana. As it was the feast of Santa Petrona, we decided to go together to the mission of Todos Santos, to celebrate the jubilee of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles. On that day the happy news of the conquest and occupation of the port of Monterey reached us. We celebrated it on the following day by singing a thanksgiving Mass, and the same was done in the camp of Santa Ana.

During these days the governor received a letter from his Excellency, brought by a canoe from San Blas to Loreto and sent from there.[31] In it the viceroy told him, in regard to his resignation, that, at the interposition of his brother, the intendant of Havana, he had granted him permission to return to Mexico, and that he might go on the first ship, for he would very shortly appoint a successor. Notwithstanding this, he told me that he would not go until the month of October, because of the equinox, and that in the meantime if I desired anything I should make it known to him. I replied that many things occurred to me, not for myself but

for the good of the missions, and that I would acquaint him with them in writing.

So I presented to him some data, all pertaining to the welfare and the advancement of the missions, and he provided for these things as appeared right to him. In order that this might have the desired effect, he charged me to make a duplicate memorandum, and said he would issue decrees for them all, as he did. And he made himself solicitor for them, taking them with him in order to ask his Excellency to approve them. I kept the others with the object of seeing if they could be put into force. Some of them had the desired effect, such as that the royal commissary should adjust the accounts of what he had received from the missions; that a price should be set at which meat could be sold on account of the missions; that the mission of Loreto should be allowed the money it had on the departure of the Jesuit fathers, and also the income produced from the ranch since their departure; that the unmarried men at Santa Ana should return to their missions, since the purpose for which they had come, to be instructed in mechanical trades, had not been realized because this project had not been carried out; that the Indians of the missions should not serve on the barks of San Blas, but on the launches of the missions, so that the Peninsula might not be depopulated little by little; and other similar points, which I omit.

These affairs concluded, I returned to Loreto, embarking in a launch at the port of La Paz on the 24th of August. The governor remained in Santa Ana and set sail for San Blas on November 9, leaving as lieutenant-governor Don Bernardino Moreno, until the new governor should come.

CHAPTER XVIII

EFFORTS MADE IN MEXICO IN FAVOR OF THE MISSIONS BY FATHER FRAY DIONISIO BASTERRA

Almost at the same time that Governor Don Matías Armona arrived in California, the father solicitor, Fray Dionisio Basterra, entered Mexico. As I said in chapter sixteen, he returned to the College on account of illness, taking with him the report of all the missions to the reverend father guardian. He found already in that capital the most illustrious visitor-general, better of his illness, and with the permission of the reverend father guardian he went to see him. The visitor immediately asked him if he brought any commissions from me or Father Ramos. He replied that he did, and added that he had been charged at the same time to treat only with him. Upon hearing this the visitor told him to make a memorandum and that he would immediately arrange for it, for we were all working to the same end, the advancement of the Peninsula. Comforted by this, the father returned to the College and put in writing all the commissions that he carried, sending me a copy. I will insert it here, so that it may be seen how he

worked for the good of the missions which had been entrusted to him, not only as concerns spiritual matters, but also the temporal welfare of the poor Indians, so urged by his Majesty.

Representation Made to the Visitor-General

Most Illustrious Visitor-general, Don José de Gálvez:

Since your Illustrious Lordship[32] permits me to present to you in writing the confidential petitions entrusted to me by Father Prior Fray Francisco Palóu, president of the missions of California and now minister of Loreto, I am proceeding to do it in such manner as my incapacity will allow, satisfied that since your Illustrious Lordship already knows me your wisdom will excuse my errors.

The first thing, then, which that father begs of your Illustrious Lordship is that you shall issue an order that the Indians who labor in the works of the king shall be paid six pesos monthly and their daily ration, as your Illustrious Lordship decided when you were in that Peninsula, for the royal commissary, Don Antonio López y Toledo, wished that the Indians should work for the ration only, and any other commissary who may come will wish the same.

The second request is that your Illustrious Lordship shall order the meat sold at a higher price than you decided; for the father president has found, since his mission of Loreto supplies the camp, that

one month with another the mission comes out eight or nine pesos behind, for it pays the vaqueros some six and some eight pesos monthly.

The third request is that all the utensils of the house shall be given to the father mentioned free of charge, and also that the mission of Loreto shall be credited with the amount of money and silver it had at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits.

The fourth petition is that Don Francisco Trillo shall pay the mission of San Ignacio for the ten jugs of brandy, and that your Illustrious Lordship shall give an order for this, as by word of mouth you promised the father president, and that credit shall be given for these jugs in the royal warehouse.

The fifth supplication is that your Illustrious Lordship shall order the accounts examined in respect to the debits and credits of the missions; for, on looking over the books I find that some items are set down twice and others not at all. And after they are examined and adjusted it is petitioned that your Illustrious Lordship shall order that the missions shall be paid in money what is due them, and that they shall pay what they may owe through the medium of the syndic.

The sixth request is that the missions shall not be obliged to get clothing, tobacco, etc., from the warehouse, but that they may purchase them in Mexico or Guadalaxara, for it is clear that in this way some money would be saved, and the Indians would have something more than their clothing and food.

The seventh petition is that, referring to the ten thousand pesos which your Illustrious Lordship ordered given from the Pious Fund belonging to these missions in clothing, which was distributed, he shall again order an equal sum, or a part of it, to be given for the same purpose, until such time as the missions shall have sufficient income to clothe their own Indians.

The eighth request is that the mission of Loreto shall not be obliged to give to the warehouse any mules, horses, or burros except those that have its own brand; for after carefully examining the ranch there were found only twenty-four mules, altogether, with the brand of the warehouse; of horses, young and old, sixty were found, some ten of which belonged to the warehouse; and of burros there were eight, all belonging to the missions.

The ninth petition is that the missions shall not be compelled to turn over to the warehouse the surplus fruits and products, but that they may freely sell them to any person whatever; and that in case the royal warehouse shall need anything the royal commissary shall ask the president, or whoever may be in charge of the accounts of the missions, so that the latter may ask the missions for them, thus avoiding many disputes with the missionary fathers; and that when these fruits and products are delivered the commissary shall pay for them in money, for their value as well as for the carriage, and that the missions shall likewise pay for what they take out of the warehouse.

The tenth request is that the governor and the royal commissary shall not interfere in the temporal affairs entrusted by your Lordship to the fathers, for the fact is that the royal commissary, Don Antonio José López de Toledo, came with the understanding that everything in the missions was at his disposal, and that the fathers were like his subalterns. And another one said that if the fathers did not send what he asked for he would go with soldiers, unlock the granaries, and take it by force.

The eleventh petition is that, in regard to the orchard which your Illustrious Lordship added to the temporal property of the mission of Loreto, with the obligation that the father should take care of it and give some of its fruits to the governor and the royal commissary, he shall order this obligation cancelled, for from it many disagreements may arise between those gentlemen and the father, as to whether or not they give it good care, or whether or not they should be given some of the produce. Besides, no father who might be there would fail to take into consideration that the gentlemen mentioned are the first who ought to be served with what the garden may produce.

The twelfth request is that the governor and the royal commissary shall live outside the monastery, just as the provisional governor, Don Juan Gutiérrez, lived, avoiding in this way having the door of the monastery open at night until those gentlemen are ready to retire, because many persons having

important business come at night to present their claims and petitions before the governor.

The thirteenth petition is that no tribute or acknowledgment shall be imposed upon the Indians of the North, and that what the Southern Indians give shall be remitted, since they have not been able to plant, partly because of the great epidemic among the Indians and partly because many ran away to the woods. The commissary of that department wishes, nevertheless, to collect their tribute from the products of the missions which will, without doubt, cause a lack of means to provide the food and clothing of the Indians.

The fourteenth petition is that neither the governor nor the commissary shall have the power to take, detain, or disturb the canoes that some of the missions have, nor their Indians; and in case they are needed in some emergency, that it shall be with the appropriate pay, and that the emergency shall be placed before the father president, so that he may decide upon it.

The fifteenth request is that San José del Cabo and Santiago may proceed as your Illustrious Lordship determined, that is, with curates, for, besides the fact that these towns are very much run down, some harm may follow to us from administering them; because, since the China ship stops at San José for provisions, which it is absolutely necessary to give it, competitors would not fail to say that we were trading with them.

These, Illustrious Sir, are the confidential petitions which the father president, Fray Francisco Palóu, entrusted to me and Father Ramos, cautioning me not to show them to his Excellency or any other person; for it is only in your Illustrious Lordship that these fathers place the hope that, for the good of those unfortunate Indians, you will order everything that may be most useful and proper, and that his Excellency the Viceroy will sign it for its greater permanence. These fathers hope for this, and in this hope I pray God our Lord to prosper the life of your Illustrious Lordship for many years.

San Fernando, July 10, 1770.

Fray Dionisio Basterra.

His Illustrious Lordship made himself acquainted with the contents of this paper, and then gave his word to Father Basterra that he would grant everything asked for, and that he would hasten it, for it was justly asked, since it was all directed to the welfare of those poor Indians, and for the advancement of their missions, and that we were all working for the same end. He kept the paper for the purpose of putting it into effect, but he did not keep his promise, either because he was distracted by other affairs of greater importance, or because he fell into ill-humor with the reverend father guardian of the College concerning the number of missionaries who were to go to California and the new establishments, as I shall relate farther on.

CHAPTER XIX

MY REASONS FOR MAKING THE PRECEDING REPRESENTATION

From the petitions themselves contained in the memorial presented by Father Basterra to the visitor may be gathered the reasons that caused me to write it, and that obliged me to send Father Ramos to Sonora (for these were the charges that he carried), and, his journey being frustrated, to commend these points to Father Basterra, who, as I said, was retiring to the College because of ill health. Nevertheless it has seemed best to me to explain my reasons more clearly in this chapter.

I have already said that in the visit that his Lordship made to the Peninsula he gave orders that the Indians who might work were to be given six pesos monthly, besides the daily ration of maize and meat. Most of the twenty-five families from San Xavier recently settled in Loreto were employed, sometimes at the forge, sometimes in making charcoal, and in other branches of the royal service. The provisional governor and royal commissary, Don Juan Gutiérrez, was much annoyed because he had to pay them, and in the month of May, when he was

at the camp of Los Alamos or on the road thither, he consulted the visitor.[33] His Lordship replied to him, at the foot of the same document, that the Indians were to be given what he had ordered —six pesos monthly and the daily ration. The commissary complied, but it apparently pained him greatly to have to pay them (although it did not come out of his pocket), seeing that if they worked for the mission it did not pay them. But he did not take into consideration that even though they did some work for the mission, it was for them that the mission was founded. Without doubt, for this reason he would again urge it, and his Lordship would give the order stated above in chapter fifteen. Considering that I, as pastor of those Indians, was under obligation to ask for justice, for this reason the representation in the first petition was made.

The motive for the second request was the sight of the injury caused to the mission of Loreto, the one that supplies the royal warehouse with meat every week to ration the soldiers and the ships' crews. Since it has but the one ranch called San José, which has only runaway cattle, going to get meat is like going to catch wild beasts; and in order to get the required amount it was necessary to keep six or seven skilled cowboys perpetually on wages. Since the meat needed for the camp comes to about fifty arrobas, which at the new rate are worth only twelve

pesos and four reals, they did not equal even[34] the smallest salaries. Consequently the mission went in debt.

Señor Armona was well aware of this, and for this reason he ordered that meat should be put at four reals an arroba, and so that the soldiers might not become vexed with this arrangement he gave orders that it should be sold to them at two reals, and that the rest should be charged to the warehouse, seeing that it was this which paid the wages of the soldiers and sailors.

The third petition was made in view of what I have already said, that is, because they wished the mission to pay for the utensils that belonged to it. At the time of the departure of the Jesuit fathers the governor took charge of everything, putting it all in one account, the warehouse with the mission, but when steps were taken to separate the mission again from the warehouse as it was formerly in the time of the Jesuit fathers, they wished to charge the mission for those utensils, although it appeared in the books that the mission had bought them from the warehouse.

As to the balances and the silver bullion, they were asked for the same reason that the visitor had for the order that he issued in regard to the other missions, as soon as he reached the Peninsula, in which he required credit given for the

balances and silver that the missions had in the warehouse at Loreto at the time of the departure of the Jesuit fathers; for they were not to be accounted as temporal property of the expelled fathers, because they were the income from the products of the missions and the sweat of the poor Indians. Since this applies equally to the balances[35] and the silver, as regards the mission of Loreto, it was my duty, as their pastor and tutor, to make the request in behalf of the sons of that mission.

My reason for the fourth petition was that the royal commissary, Don Francisco Trillo, sent a launch, on account of the warehouse, to take the ten jugs of brandy belonging to the mission of San Ignacio, which, with the mules of the mission, had been transported to the mission of Mulegé, at the request of the commissary. He wrote that he would send a launch to bring them, and in fact the supercargo did receive them; but, when they were not far from Loreto, all the sailors and the supercargo having gone ashore one night to sleep, a Negro who was with them by order of the commissary, serving as a sailor (having been taken for this purpose out of the stocks, where he was a prisoner for stealing), went off alone with the canoe to the opposite coast, and the jugs were lost. The commissary insisted that the loss should be charged to the mission. This did not seem to be just; and the

visitor, also, when I spoke of it to him, said that the mission ought not to lose it, but as the new commissary was not willing to credit it without an order, for this reason I made the petition.

The fifth request in itself expresses clearly enough the reasons for making it. And this difficulty was evident when Governor Armona caused an examination to be made of the accounts, for there was much to be altered in favor of the missions.

The reason for the sixth petition was that, comparing the price of the goods in the warehouse with what they cost in Mexico, it turned out that even after paying for the freights (and it is said they were more than three hundred pesos yearly for each mission) the goods cost less in Mexico than by getting them from the warehouse at the price set. With this saving more clothing could be bought for the poor Indians. And the same with the tobacco, for, as the Indians use a great deal of it, and the mission owes it to them, according to the orders left by his Lordship, it would be a great saving to bring it from the store in Mexico at six reals a pound, and avoid having to pay for it in Loreto at twelve; and the powder, which is also used by the Indians of the missions in the North, at four pesos.

The reason for the seventh request was that, when his Lordship told me in Loreto that he

had sent to ask, from the Pious Fund and from sums in the commissariat-general of the missions, which was at San Andrés in Mexico, 10,000 pesos invested in coarse goods for the purpose of clothing the Indians, and that as soon as they came I should receive and divide them among the missions, he added that we should endeavor to clothe them every year as they would be clad with this clothing, thus banishing from the Peninsula the nakedness in which the Jesuit fathers kept them. I replied that as far as the missionaries were concerned they would not fail to do it, but that I doubted very much whether the income from the missions would reach so far.

In view of the foregoing, and of the information given me by the fathers (as I charged them to inform me), that there were only three missionaries who could in case of misfortune afford from the harvests the clothing necessary to dress the Indians as they were dressed with this gift, I begged that he should order some alms from the fund, since it belonged to the missions, until such time as the missions should have enough to be able to pay entirely for the clothing.

The motive for the eighth petition was that the visitor left a decree in which he ordered that, from the mules and horses on the ranch of the mission of Loreto belonging to the warehouse, there should be set apart twenty-four mules,

eighteen horses, and ten burros for the warehouse, because Don Francisco Trillo (who up to that time had charge of the warehouse and the mission, making one account of the whole, because of the report that the mission would be extinguished), was informed that there were that number of animals belonging to the warehouse. But when the ranch was turned over to the mission it was seen that there were no more animals belonging to the warehouse than those stated in the petition. For this reason a change was asked for in the decree, which the royal commissary was trying to put into effect literally, without paying any attention to the fact that there was no such number of animals.

The ninth petition was made because the royal commissary claimed that the missions could not sell to any private individual who might go to them to buy wine, brandy, or figs, because the warehouse would then lose its profit of one real on each quart of liquor, and one peso on each arroba of figs, while the Indians of the missions would have these profits. The commissary wished to compel the mission to furnish the mules, without the warehouse putting itself to the risk of the road, and to the losses that usually occur in the transportation. The commissary should not interfere by asking for anything from the missions, but should ask it from the father president, who would know best which one had a surplus,

but if the commissary should ask for it and the missionary should say that there was nothing, it would result in disagreements, and an order should be given to avoid them. It was also requested that payment should be made in money, for in this way the difficulty met in giving clothing and other things that the missions might need would not occur in the warehouse, whereas, as it went on the account that the warehouse owes the missions, there were always excuses for denying it.

The reasons for the tenth petition are sufficiently expressed in its own terms.

In regard to the eleventh petition it should be observed that the orchard is composed of six olive trees, two fig trees, some twenty old grape vines, a few pomegranates and cotton plants, fenced with brush and irrigated with water drawn from a well. This orchard had belonged to the deceased captain, and then passed to another person. In the time of the Jesuit fathers both died owing the warehouse, and the warehouse kept the orchard in payment, as no one could be found to buy it. Captain Don Fernando Rivera told me that they valued it at fifty pesos, but that when they asked him to buy it at that price he replied that if they were to offer him fifty pesos premium, on condition that he would take the orchard as a gift, he would not accept it, for he knew that it would serve for nothing

but to pour money into without any return, and that it was for this reason that its former owners had run in debt to the warehouse.

As a result the orchard remained in the possession of the warehouse, independent of the mission of Loreto; but when the visitor was at that mission he bestowed the orchard upon it, on condition that the Indians should cultivate it and from its produce the governor and commissary should be supplied with fruit as well as vegetables. The Indians worked on it, the mission furnishing the mules for the water-wheel and maintaining the necessary laborers; but what the orchard produced was taken away by those gentlemen, without other authority than the right which the visitor had given them in his decree of donation to the mission. In view of the entire lack of returns from it, with only expenses and labor for the Indians of the mission, I directed Father Basterra to renounce it; but according to his representation he did not dare do more by himself than petition to be relieved of this obligation.

The reasons for the twelfth[36] petition, as is patent in the document itself, are the difficulties that follow from the residence of the governor, fathers, and commissary together in the same dwelling. And it is a very bad arrangement to have the warehouse in the same building, next to the church, for it is a public store, not only

for clothing, but also for food and goods for wearing apparel.

I made the thirteenth petition because when the canoes of the missions of San Borja and Mulegé came after corn for the missions the governor and royal commissary took possession of them under pretense of royal service. He detained one of them in Loreto for about a year, and the other a little less, making use of them and the Indians for fishing, bringing wood, and other things that they ordered them to do. From this, great injury resulted to the missions and also to the sailors, for they were deprived of the right to live in their missions with their wives.

The reason for the fourteenth petition sent by me was that in the plan which his Illustrious Lordship made for the missions of the South, he ordered and decreed that the Indians of the three missions named, Todos Santos, Santiago, and San José del Cabo, in recognition of their royal vassalage, should each plant a field with one bushel of corn, take care of it, harvest the crop, and carry it to deliver to the royal commissary of Santa Ana, in acknowledgment of vassalage to the king of Spain. As the Indians did not make these plantings, on account of the epidemic among them, and because those who were moved to Todos Santos had not yet settled there, the royal commissary of Santa Ana endeavored to charge the missions whatever he pleased for the fields ordered planted.

In regard to the Indians in all the other missions, the visitor, when he was in Loreto, told me that since they lacked land and water to make plantings equal to those of the South, he would order that in recognition of their vassalage they should give the royal warehouse a tenth part of some one crop, such as wine or figs. When he asked me if I saw any objection to this I told him that I did not think these Indians were yet in a position to pay tribute or tithes, partly because they are so poor and are such new Christians, and partly because they are on the frontier. He replied that it was not tribute, but recognition of their vassalage to their king. "Well, Sir," I replied, "all that the missions may give of themselves must be refunded for feeding and clothing the Indians who work to produce it; if part of it is applied to the warehouse, this will make so much the less to give them."

The matter was left to be adjusted, and although he issued no decree, that I knew of at least, yet, being fearful that he might give some order to the royal commissary, as he did about other points which came to me all of a sudden, I thought it was best for the good of the poor Indians to make that request.

I made the last petition because it came to my notice that the new curate of Santiago wished to go to report that those towns were not suitable

for curates, but for missionaries, as in fact he did go, under pretext of sickness, to see Governor Armona, leaving the administration in charge of the curate of Santa Ana. Being fearful that they would now again come under the charge of the College, which did not seem right to me, for the reasons set down in the representation, I gave the order spoken of to the reverend Father Basterra.

In the foregoing petitions I had no other aim than the good of the missions in charge of the friars of my College, and regard for the honor of my apostolic institute; and although no decision was made concerning them I remained quiet, without fear of being culpable through silence.

CHAPTER XX

MEASURES TAKEN BY THE VICEROY ON ACCOUNT OF THE GOOD NEWS FROM THE EXPEDITION TO MONTEREY

In the early part of August, 1770, the good news reached his Excellency that the expedition by sea and land had arrived at the desired port of Monterey, without the smallest accident or the least resistance on the part of the natives, and that Monterey had been taken possession of for our king of Spain; and also that the Feast of Corpus Christi had been celebrated in that port on its own day, to the extraordinary pleasure of those who went on the expedition. His Excellency desired that this joyful news should be celebrated by a thanksgiving Mass in the Cathedral and the ringing of bells.

In addition to the three missions recommended for the Department of San Diego and Monterey, and another on the frontier of Santa María, on the site named Vellicatá, of which I shall speak later, his Excellency the Viceroy, the Marquis de Croix, immediately decided, in accord with the visitor-general, to found ten more, five between Vellicatá and San Diego, and

the others between San Diego and the port of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco.

With this object the visitor-general sent for the reverend father guardian of the College, and informed him of his Excellency's decision in regard to the founding of the missions, and consequently that it would be necessary for the forty-four regular priests who had arrived on mission from Spain to set out in the following May for California and the new reductions. The reverend father guardian demurred as far as the number was concerned, explaining that they were needed in the College, because of the large community, the continuous confessions in the city, the missions to the faithful, and the five missions in the Sierra Gorda.[37]

His Excellency urged that they might send to Spain for another mission, and that if the father guardian did not wish to send a commissary for it he himself would write to his Majesty and would assign it to the College. The father guardian held to his opinion that they could not spare so many. Afterward they came to an agreement that thirty should go, on condition that provisions should be made for the archbishop to receive the five missions of the Sierra Gorda, putting secular curates in them. They agreed upon this and on the renunciation, and in due time the formal delivery was made of the five missions of the Pamería[38] in the Sierra

Gorda, which had been founded twenty-six years previously. The father guardian and the venerable Discretory then decided who were to go, and the following were assigned to Monterey:*

The father preacher Fray Antonio Paterna, of the province of Andalucía.

The father preacher Fray Antonio Cruzado, of the province of Los Angeles. Both came from the Sierra.

The father preacher Fray Francisco Dumetz, of the province of Mayorca.

The father preacher Fray Angel Somera, son of the College of San Fernando.

The father preacher Fray Miguel Pieras, son of the province of Mayorca.

The father preacher Fray Buenaventura Sitjar, son of the same province.

The father preacher Fray Domingo Juncosa, of the province of Cataluña.

The father preacher Fray José Caballer, son of the same province.

The father preacher Fray Luís Jaime, son of the province of Mayorca.

The father preacher Fray Pedro Benito Cambón, of the province of Galicia.

All of these fathers left the College in the month of October and embarked at San Blas on the packet named *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,*

* Monterey is here used for Upper California, or all of California north of the Peninsula.

in the month of January, 1771. Of their voyage and destinations I shall speak in Part Two.

For California, for the old as well as for the new missions, the following were named:

The father preacher Fray Juan Prestamero, of the province of Cantabria.

The father preacher Fray Ramón Ussón, of the province of Aragón.

The father preacher Fray Marcelino Senra, of the province of Galicia.

The father preacher Fray Tomás de la Peña, of the province of Cantabria.

The father preacher Fray Vicente Imas, of the province of Burgos.

The father preacher Fray Francisco Echasco, of the province of Burgos.

The father preacher Fray Martín de Palacios, of the same province.

The father preacher Fray Manuel Lago, of the province of Galicia.

The father preacher Fray Pedro Arrequiebar, of the province of Cantabria.

The father preacher Fray José Leguna, of the same province of Cantabria.

The father preacher Fray Gregorio Amurrio, of the same province.

The father preacher Fray Juan Figuer, of the province of Aragón.

The father preacher Fray Vicente Fuster, of the same province of Aragón.

The father preacher Fray Antonio Linares, of the same province.

The father preacher Fray Vicente Santa María, of the province of Burgos.

The father preacher Fray Francisco Xavier de Texada, of the same province.

These twenty religious priests left the College in the same month of October and stopped, together with the other ten, in the hospice of Santa Cruz de Tepic, awaiting an opportunity to embark.

While they were staying in the hospice Sergeant-major Don Felipe Barry arrived at that town, with all his retinue. He had been named governor of California, and asked permission to take the father preacher Fray Juan Antonio Riobóo with him, which was granted by the reverend father who came as president of those friars. They left San Blas in the middle of January, not reaching Cerralvo until the 22d of March. Of the nineteen left two became ill, and the seventeen embarked early in February in the packet named *San Carlos,* of whose voyage I shall speak later.

CHAPTER XXI

ARRIVAL OF THE NEW GOVERNOR IN CALIFORNIA, AND LETTERS THAT I RECEIVED AT THAT TIME

I have already said in the preceding chapter that Father Fray Juan Riobóo sailed, and landed at Cerralvo on the 22d of March. As soon as they went up to the camp of Santa Ana this father wrote to me of their arrival, and that, having heard that the two towns at Cape San Lucas were without a priest to say Mass for them and confess them, he would very gladly sacrifice himself if I would permit him to do so. The governor wrote the same thing to me, begging me to permit Father Fray Juan to go to those towns, so that those poor Indians might not lack spiritual food. In view of this, I replied to them both that in order to supply the need for the present the father might go, but on condition that he was not to have charge of the temporal affairs of those towns. The governor agreed to this, and gave orders that the stewards placed there by the government should continue in the care of temporal matters.

At the same time he sent me by the same mail the letters that he brought me from his Excellency the Viceroy, the Marquis de Croix. Because their contents exhibit the great zeal of this very excellent gentleman for the salvation of souls and the Divine worship of our Lord, I shall not omit copying them:

First Letter

In accord with the illustrious visitor-general, I have decided, on account of the important purposes and considerations known to your Reverence, that the reduction of the numerous heathen of that Peninsula requires that ten friars shall go in the packet *San Antonio,* which is returning to San Diego and Monterey, to establish five new missions on that coast. On this assumption, and that an equal number are to be erected in the country between Vellicatá and San Diego, I charge your Reverence very particularly, as is proper for your religious zeal, to arrange that the founding of these five shall be effected as soon as possible, appointing to each two fathers from the twenty who are being conducted by the *San Carlos,* for they are carrying all the vestments and ornaments necessary for worship in these new missions, and it would be extremely grievous to me if their founding should be delayed more than is necessary.

These missions ought to have the appellations of San Joaquín, Santa Ana, San Juan Capistrano, San Pascual Bailón, and San Felipe de Cantalicio. For a quicker and happier outcome, your Reverence will act in harmony with the lieutenant-governor, Don Antonio de Toledo, whom I am instructing that for this purpose and until the new governor of that Peninsula shall arrive he must contribute faithfully to the success of so laudable an object, with the understanding that there have been issued to the syndic of the College a thousand pesos for each new mission, besides the allowances fixed and agreed upon by the visitor named. I hope that your Reverence may remain in the best of health, in which I pray God our Lord to keep you for many years.

Mexico, November 12, 1770.

Marquis de Croix.

To the Reverend Father Fray Francisco Palóu.

Second Letter Written for the Same Purpose

According to the agreement which your Reverence has made with the illustrious visitor-general, and the plans and regulations which were formed on that Peninsula by his Lordship, and which I have approved, payment has been made in advance to the thirty missionary friars who are going to California (the twenty who are to remain there, as well as the ten who are to go to the new missions of Monterey)

of one year's stipend, at the rate of two hundred and seventy-five pesos each, besides ten thousand pesos for the establishment of the ten new missions which are to be erected, at the rate of one thousand for each.

This total sum of 18,250 pesos their syndic, Don José González Calderón, collected in this Court, and as the stipend of two hundred and seventy-five pesos has been awarded to the missionaries indiscriminately, notwithstanding the variety of their posts, it is necessary to urge your Reverence, after the destination of the thirty religious named has been settled, to inform me of it in detail, so that in conformity with the indicated schedule of salaries, the account may be liquidated and the respective allowances paid to the missionaries who may be placed in the old missions, where the stipend does not come to two hundred and seventy-five pesos. I hope that your Reverence will not omit anything for the proper adjustment of the matter, in view of the fact that from the day they left this capital their allowance began, although they ought to pay for the journey by land as far as the port of San Blas. For the transportation by sea, however, and the cost of food and supplies the missionaries are not charged anything whatever until their arrival at that Peninsula.

I also make known to your Reverence that for each of the ten new missions that are to be established the friars are carrying all the vestments,

sacred vessels, and other necessary articles which they asked for. I have given them this assistance because of the laudable purpose to which they are directed, and the great interest that I feel in the spread of the Faith among those heathen. I have also given them two fine vestments, one destined to the new mission of Monterey, and the other to the church of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, patroness of that Peninsula. I give your Reverence this information for your guidance.

May God spare your Reverence many years.

Mexico, November 12, 1770.

Marquis de Croix.

To the Reverend Father President Fray Francisco Palóu.

Third Letter

In order that your Reverence may have exact information regarding the vestments and articles contained in the allotment for each of the missions which are to be newly established in that Peninsula, I enclose the adjoining list, informing you that I have arranged that boxes for five missions shall be sent to your Reverence, and that all those marked with the same number are for the service of a single mission. At the same time I have arranged, to avoid all confusion, that those which are to go to Loreto shall be marked from six to ten, and those destined to Monterey shall be numbered from one to five.

Their embarkation and distribution I am entrusting, on this same date, to the royal commissary of the port of San Blas, Don Francisco Trillo, warning him to take equal care in the sending of the fine vestment which is going especially for the service of the church of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, as patroness of the Peninsula, and I inform your Reverence of it for your guidance.

May God preserve your Reverence for many years. Mexico, November 12, 1770.

Marquis de Croix.

To the Reverend Father President Fray Francisco Palóu.

List Which Came Enclosed in the Preceding Letter

List of the vestments and utensils which are being sent for each of the new missions to be established on the Peninsula of California:

One white chasuble, one purple chasuble, one scarlet chasuble, one green chasuble, one black chasuble; five frontals of the same colors; five pallia or tabernacle veils of the same colors; two albs and two surplices; two manotejos and two tablecloths; two altar cloths; six purificators, and two cinctures; one crucifix for the altar; three candlesticks and two covered altar sconces; two artes, one tablet of the sacraments, one Gospel of Saint John and lavabo;

one chalice with its dish and little spoon; one plate, cruets, a little bell, and a wafer box; one thurible, with boat and spoon; one bake iron for making altar breads, and one pot for holy water; a silver shell for baptizing; one urn for consecrated oil and one little salt cellar; one small cup for administering the viaticum and two baptismal caps; one white veil and a white cope; one black cope and another white one; one Roman ritual; thirteen reals for the arras.*

Mexico, November 12, 1770.

MARQUIS DE CROIX.

I replied to these letters, thanking his Excellency for the vestment that he was sending for the church of Loreto, and for all the rest included in the list for the new missions which he charged me to establish in the country between San Fernando de Vellicatá and San Diego, and telling him that on my part and that of the missionary fathers whom I was expecting on the *San Carlos,* there would not be the least delay, and that as soon as those fathers should arrive I would give a statement to his Excellency of their destinations, for the purposes which he explains to me in one of his letters.

* The arras were thirteen coins given at the wedding ceremony by the bridegroom to the bride as a pledge.

CHAPTER XXII

ARRIVAL OF THE GOVERNOR AT LORETO; AND THE SAD NEWS THAT WE HAD OF THE PACKET *SAN CARLOS*

As soon as the governor received my letter in which I told him that I thought it a good thing for Father Riobóo to say Mass in and administer the towns of Santiago and San José, on the conditions that I have already stated, he left the camp of Santa Ana with his family and came up by land to the camp of Loreto, where he arrived on the 19th of April.[39] He showed from the beginning a great affection for the holy habit, and was very zealous in aiding us in the conservation[40] and the advancement of the missions. He promised to maintain harmonious relations, explaining that his Excellency the Marquis de Croix, Viceroy of New Spain, had so charged him in one of the instructions, which he was anxious that I should see, so as to assure myself of it. He went on in this way, causing the whole camp, even the whole Peninsula, to notice the affection which he professed for us and the harmony that existed between us, not only in words but also in deeds. From this it

resulted that the Indians who had misbehaved at some of the missions, in the matter of theft, were intimidated. He spoke of the system which the missionaries observed in the missions, and admired the state of doctrine and education which we maintained in them. He also praised the disinterestedness and charity which he saw that we practiced towards the Indians; and he did not simply say it, but also wrote it, shortly after he arrived, to the visitor-general.

From all this I inferred that respect for his authority would aid us greatly in the promotion of the missions. We talked about the new missions, and how we should start them, in accordance with the orders of his Excellency; but we were held back by the delay of the fathers as well as by the lack on the the Peninsula of soldiers for the undertaking.

Early in July, when we were awaiting the *San Carlos* with the friars, the *Lauretana* arrived with bad news. When it was ready to sail from San Blas a young man came who had embarked in the packet *San Carlos* with the fathers. He said they had had bad weather, and that the storm had carried the ship to the coast of Colima, and it had run aground in the port called Manzanilla; but, although they had been in danger of drowning, there had been no other misfortune than the breaking of the rudder.[41] He said they were repairing and examining the

bark to see if it was fit to continue the voyage; but he had heard the fathers say they would not sail in it, and two of them had already gone to Guadalaxara.

Having heard this news, and inferring that the fathers would be late in arriving, I decided to go to the missions of the North, to invite and encourage the missionaries to go to the new foundations, as experienced men, and also to prepare some things for those foundations. With this in view I embarked at Loreto on a launch on the 29th of July, and on the following day it had already landed at Mulegé, whence I went to San Ignacio. In the middle of August I received a letter from the governor, begging me to return with all possible speed to Loreto, because the Indians of Todos Santos had rebelled, and had come in troops to complain against the steward of that mission. Knowing them as I did, I paid little attention, and wrote to the governor not to worry about those Indians, for they were in the habit of doing what they had just now done, but that nevertheless we would see each other again soon.

He wrote me a second letter, and I started back to Loreto at once. Being on the 30th of August at the mission of Purísima, I received a letter from Father Fray José Murguía, whom I had left at Loreto, in which he told me the *San Carlos* had arrived with only two friars. I

hurried my steps, and arrived on September 6 at Loreto, where I found the father preachers Fray Marcelino Senra and Fray Juan Figuer. They told me about the troubles through which they had passed in the nearly seven months of sailing, and how, on account of the contrary winds and tempests, they had taken refuge on the coast of Colima, and the packet had run aground in the port of Manzanilla, but they had miraculously escaped. When they had all landed Father Fray Juan Prestamero, who was coming as president, wrote to his Excellency an account of what had occurred.

He immediately received a reply saying that they were to go by land to Tamazula, and that a ship would go there for the purpose of making the voyage to California. In compliance with this order the rest set out for Tamazula, but these two, seeing that the rudder had been repaired, and that it was the only thing that had been damaged by the heavy seas, decided, in order not to leave the bark without a priest, to proceed with the voyagers. They assured me, however, that if the rest had embarked they would have perished for want of water, for there was not even enough for the two, and if they had not succeeded in catching water when a heavy shower of rain fell they and the crew would have died, as the storms did not permit them to approach the land.

I received the supplies for all the missions, the old as well as the new, and found that they were somewhat damaged, as some of them had been wet. I distributed them all, that is to say, what came for the old missions. The rest I locked up until such time as the new foundations should be effected. Another minister was needed at San Borja, so that its minister might have companionship, and might now and then go to Vellicatá; for, there being only one missionary in each and these missions being about sixty leagues apart, it was very difficult for them to meet. I therefore decided that Father Fray Juan Figuer should go to San Borja, for which place he set out on the 9th of September. All the missions had the same need, for all the missionaries lacked companions and were sighing for this consolation, which they had been without for three years. And certainly what the missionaries felt most was the lack of companions with whom to unbosom themselves and be consoled. Although I desired to give this consolation to all of them, I could not do so. I therefore endeavored to attend first to the greatest need, and decided that Father Marcelino should go to Todos Santos, as the father of that mission was thirty leagues distant from Santiago, and had the additional misfortune of the Indian uprising, of which I shall speak in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXIII

UPRISING OF THE INDIANS OF TODOS SANTOS FROM WHICH RESULTED THE ILL-HUMOR OF THE GOVERNOR WITH ALL THE MISSIONARIES

As soon as I arrived at Loreto the governor informed me that two bands of Indians, men and boys, had come from the mission of Todos Santos to protest against the steward of that mission, complaining that he was killing them by starvation, beating, and overwork, and that the governor, as judge, ought to give them justice. The governor said that he had already written to the lieutenant of Santa Ana to send the steward of that mission as a prisoner, and that he would severely punish him for the tyranny and cruelty which he had practiced towards the Indians.

I said to him: "Sir, these are fabrications of the Guicuros Indians: they have always done this, running with false tales to the judge, until he learns to know them." I told him about several deeds of theirs committed in the time of the Jesuit fathers and also what had recently occurred in the time of Don Matías de Armona, when an Indian went to complain to him against

the stewards, saying that they had beaten him, and showing his body all one bloody sore. Shocked by this cruel punishment, the governor made an investigation, and it was found to be a trick of the Indian, who had covered himself with wounds, mortifying his body for the purpose of ruining the poor steward.

The steward does not interfere in any manner whatsoever in the matter of punishment, but only takes care of the farms. If anything happens he informs the father missionary, who, as father, orders a few lashes given to them in his sight, taking care that it shall be only such punishment as is given to children.

I told him also that a few days after this occurrence the governor and I went to Todos Santos together. The second day after our arrival all the Indian women and some of the men presented themselves to complain against the present missionary, Fray Juan Ramos, saying that he was killing them by starvation, and kept them naked, as could be seen, for they had presented themselves for this purpose wrapped up and half covered with rags. I was present at all this, and they asked me to remove that missionary, or if not, that the governor should give them a secular priest.

But the governor was enlightened by the case which had happened a few days before, and of which I have already told, for he had seen

with his own eyes that on the preceding day they were all well dressed, the men with breeches and coat, the women with chemise, skirt, and blanket. Besides, he had seen the very good food that was given to them almost without work, for they could not be trusted with anything, as they destroyed and stole everything. Even to bring the wood for their own kitchen it was necessary to hire a servant at six pesos a month for doing nothing[42] but bring the wood for them, for if one of them were sent he would not return again, but would run away to his former home in the hills. In view of all this, Señor Armona, having listened to them patiently and consoled them wisely by telling them that the trouble would be remedied as soon as they returned to their houses, took the following measures:

He wisely concluded that there were some who did the talking and others who were passive in the uprising. So he called aside one of the latter and asked him what the father had done to him to cause complaint. He replied that he had done nothing; on the contrary, he was surprised at his relatives for complaining without cause. Being asked who was to blame for it, he named two who had done the talking among the others. The governor immediately ordered these two arrested and put in irons; and as soon as the others saw them imprisoned[43] they came to ask pardon for what they had done and to

ask punishment for the two, who were to blame for everything. They declared that they had no complaint to make against the father or the steward, and that if they had come to do so before, it was because they had been forced by those two. They having told him which one was the most culpable, the governor sent him a prisoner to Santa Ana to be punished, whereupon the uprising was quieted and they were satisfied.

After relating the above cases, and various others which happened in the time of the visitor-general, who went so far as to say that the Guicuro nation deserved to be destroyed, so that they might not infect the others on the Peninsula, I said to the governor:* "Sir, in view of this state of affairs, it is proper to ask the father missionary for information, and we shall see what he says." To this he replied that he did not wish to see either the father or a letter from him, and that he had already written to the lieutenant to send the steward a prisoner to him. "For, Sir, if he turns out to be culpable, as judge I will punish him."

Notwithstanding this, I wrote to Father Ramos and asked him to tell me what had happened, and he answered giving me a detailed report of everything. As the matter went very far, and the complaint appeared before his Excellency, it has seemed proper to me to deal

* That is, to Governor Barry.

extensively with this point, setting forth the cause of the uprising, as the father missionary, Fray Ramos de Lora, wrote it to me, and as it was confirmed by Fathers Marcelino Senra and Juan Antonio Riobóo.

I have already stated that the Guicuros Indians had never settled down in their native missions of La Pasión and San Luís, but lived in the mountains like deer, supporting themselves on wild foods, and attending Mass at the mission only on the Sundays when it was the turn of their village, for one of the villages attended on one Sunday and the other on the next. The visitor moved all these villages to Todos Santos to live in a settlement. As they were accustomed to live in the woods it seemed hard to them, and they immediately began to run away, so that, when the visitor was informed, he found it necessary to place a larger guard at the mission and to appoint some soldiers to do nothing else but recover the fugitives. Some Indians of the same nation were selected to go with these soldiers, those who appeared to be the quietest and most intelligent being chosen.

Among them was the chief of a village named Leandro, who performed his duty splendidly, and through him many Indians were recovered. But, as they seldom remained, but were constantly running away, it was necessary for the chief to be outside the mission nearly all the year

round, for whenever he came in with a band of fugitives he found that others had fled, and he again went out to look for them. The Indian did this well, and for this reason the father esteemed him highly, keeping him well dressed, giving him mules for his trips, and taking care that the mission should plant for him a good corn patch, without his having anything to do but to receive the crop and sell it, because for himself and his family he had enough, with the weekly ration that was given out to him, he being distinguished from the rest. Things were going on in this way when I was in Todos Santos with Señor Armona. The father mentioned talked much of Leandro's good management, being distressed that he had not been at the mission on the occasion when we went there, and telling us that if he had been present the uprising described above would not have occurred.

But the captain became corrupted, or, rather, his bad deeds and vices were discovered; for, once when he had brought in some Indians, his own companions accused him to the father, saying that Leandro brought in only those that he wished to bring, while his friends, as well as the women whom he wanted for his own ends, remained in the hills. The father made an investigation and found it to be true, and when Captain Leandro came he charged him with it in the presence of the steward. As soon as he

was accused, in place of humbling himself and begging pardon, he stood up to his betters and answered the father rudely. The steward could not endure this. He seized him[44] and said to him: "Ah, rascal, is this the way to speak to the father?" Fearing punishment, Leandro fell on his knees and asked pardon, and the father forgave him, contenting himself with telling him that he would not make any more use of him, and that he must remain quietly in the mission.

The Indian, ill content, plotted vengeance. At the end of a few days he asked permission to go to Santa Ana on business. When Father Ramos granted it he went and told the lieutenant that the whole mission had rebelled, that all were trying to flee to the hills, and that the father had told him not to go out after the Indians. He said that the cause of the uprising was the cruelty of the steward, who maltreated them with whipping; that he had already killed one, whom he called by name; and that he was reporting as a duty. The lieutenant listened to him and advised him to go with the rest to Loreto, to complain to the governor. Returning to his mission shortly afterwards, he asked permission to go and bring some fugitives who were wandering about in the neighborhood of the mission. The father, who had learned his intentions from the other Indians, said: "See here, I know that you wish to go and complain to the governor.

You shall not go without permission, but I now give it to you; and so that you may go comfortably, take two mules from the mission and go with them."

Leandro set forth, giving it out that he was going to collect the fugitives, and not to Loreto. A few days after his departure some of the Indian men and women with whom he had conspired were missed. They went to the hills of La Pasión and San Luís to gather those who were scattered—the ones about whom the complaint was made that he allowed them to live there, and never brought them to the mission. With all these he presented himself before the governor and made the same complaint, adding against the father that he would not confess the Indians, and that one, whom he named, had died without confession. He also said that when he was leaving Todos Santos the father had said to him: "Go on, then! I know that you are going to see the governor, but you must remember that he has no authority in this mission, nor any power to remove the steward, for I alone rule here, and nobody else."

The governor was greatly angered at this remark, which he believed as he believed the Gospel, for he thought certainly that by it they were taking away his authority, not knowing that the intentions of the Indian were to remove the steward in revenge because he had reproved him

for his rudeness to the father, as I said above. He also accused the father in regard to the confession, thinking that the governor would remove the father and give them a curate, as the visitor had done at Santiago. But he overlooked what was right before his eyes. The Indians of Santiago and San José had fled from the curate and taken refuge at Todos Santos; and when this priest was informed of it, he even replied that they should remain at the mission, for, if they returned, he would beat them to death. Thus, in order to escape from this curate, they kept very quiet at the mission, working very humbly and helping with everything, and remaining so until they learned that the curate had sailed.

Although they had seen this happen with the Pericos Indians, the Guicuros still wanted a curate. With this in view they came to Loreto in the beginning of August, and while I went back to Loreto the governor wrote to his lieutenant to bring charges against the steward, Juan Crisóstomo de Castro. This gentleman was a Spaniard who had served with great honor in the Leather-jacket Company, and who, although he was a man of some fortune, had sacrificed himself to serve as steward in that mission, at the earnest request of the visitor, who was impressed by the way he had conducted himself when he was commissioner of the tem-

poral affairs of the mission, for he did not have to reprimand him in any way whatsoever. The governor added that if the steward should turn out to be guilty of the charges brought against him by the Indians, he should send him a prisoner so that he might give him the merited punishment. The lieutenant carried out the order, but, after having called for him and taken his declaration, he did not send him a prisoner to Loreto, but sent him free to the mission, no doubt because he found him innocent.

Notwithstanding this, after receiving the letters of the lieutenant, the governor again insisted on the same thing, telling me that the steward must be removed, as he was cruel and tyrannical. I replied that justice called for his punishment if he deserved it, but if not he ought not to be removed, for he was both feet and hands to the father and helped him to advance the mission in temporal matters. On account of fabrications of the Indians the father had already removed four under-stewards; and now, because of the false tales and stories raised against them, he could not find anyone for their places. If they took away this one, the principal one, the mission would be ruined, and if he were removed the governor would have to take charge of it.

The governor told me that if the steward had been cruel he was not to blame, for he had only

obeyed the father's orders; the father had said that no one gave orders at the mission except himself, and that the governor had nothing to do with it; but that the father would have to learn that there was a king in California; that he would show him how far his authority went; and other similar things. I endeavored to soothe him by telling him that if the father had been delinquent in any respect, or had transgressed in any way, he had only to tell me about it, and I, as prelate, would take steps for an investigation and atonement. He replied that the father was a priest, and he did not care to interfere with him, but rather with the steward, and of him he would make an example; and that until he was removed from the mission he would not permit the Indians to return to it.

This was to declare war against all the missionaries, changing things so that what was praised before was now vituperated. He made himself the patron of evildoers, so that any Indian who committed a theft found sanctuary in his house. The result was that the Indians lost respect for their father missionaries, failed to come to prayers and catechism, and stole anything they could, crops as well as cattle, resulting in the great deterioration of all the missions. It was spread throughout the whole Peninsula that the fathers had nothing to do with anything but preaching, confessing, and saying

Mass, and that everything else pertained to the governor, as he in fact said publicly and to me myself. I replied that the missions were in our charge in both spiritual and temporal affairs, and that everything pertained to us, except approving the selection of native governors, and criminal trials, as was stated in the instructions of the visitor-general.

I omit to relate the very serious things that happened in all this time until we left the missions. We were in such a state that it was only by a miracle that the missions did not rise up, and he did in fact attempt to cause the Indians of the mission of San Xavier to do so on two occasions, but it was God's will that it was learned of and checked. We could not correct or punish anyone, but were obliged to let them live as they wished, in order to avoid greater harm. If they wished to come to prayers they came; if not, they remained in their houses. This happened especially in the missions nearest Loreto, and that mission was ruined.

As soon as I saw this fire lighted I wrote to the reverend father guardian and told him what had occurred at Todos Santos, and what I feared would result from what the governor had said and published, to the effect that the fathers had no business with anything but preaching, confessing, and saying Mass, and that everything else pertained to him as governor. I told the

father guardian that it was therefore necessary to ask his Excellency for a strict order to restrain him, and to inform him that he only had the right to approve native governors and jurisdiction in criminal trials, and that all the rest pertained to the missionaries, as fathers, masters, and teachers of those neophytes, as the visitor had provided in his instructions.

I despatched the letter, with others which some fathers had written about matters relating to Monterey. They said that some soldiers had deserted, and that although at the risk of his life[45] one of the missionaries had induced them to return, the captain attributed the desertion to him. I sent these letters to the College by the father preacher Fray Juan Escudero, who left on account of sickness. He embarked on the *San Carlos* on October 25, and as soon as he arrived, which was in December, the venerable Discretory presented before his Excellency a memorial, together with the letters, asking him to take measures in favor of the missions, the old as well as the new. The reverend father guardian sent me a copy of the memorial and I do not omit to insert it here, so that the assiduity of our College in soliciting the measures necessary for the good of the missions in their charge may not be forgotten.*

* The memorial was dated December 23, 1771. It is summarized in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXIV

MEASURES ASKED FOR BY THE FATHER GUARDIAN AND THE VENERABLE DISCRETORY, AND THE REPLY OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY

1. That the lieutenant and captain of San Diego and Monterey shall comply with the instructions given by the most illustrious visitor-general to the commanders by sea and land.[46]

2. That a suitable guard shall be provided for the presidio of San Diego and the mission of San Buenaventura. It should consist of about fifty men, according to Captain Don Fernando de Rivera, in view of the fact that on the channel of Santa Bárbara, on which it was intended to found it, there are about ten thousand very able Indians.

3. That there shall be sent to each one of the new missions some families of Indians already converted, to work the fields and supply other needs of those missions.

4. That these families shall be well treated, and given the necessary food on the road, etc.

5. That the pack train shall be reëstablished and augmented, so that if necessary it will be possible to bring provisions from Old California and Sonora.

6. That the presidios and missions shall be supplied for a year and a half, and orders given that two packets shall be provided for this purpose.

7. That it shall be declared that Monterey is not a harbor, though San Francisco may be a very good one, but it is necessary to explore its entrance and sound its depths.

8. That for the missions which it is expected to found between San Fernando de Vellicatá and San Diego many more leather-jacket soldiers are required, and many things are lacking for the churches which are asked for. And let it be observed that there is little or no hope for the reduction of these heathen.

9. That for the maintenance of the missions it is best that their temporal affairs shall be managed by the father missionaries, and that the latter shall also have the power to appoint and remove servants and soldiers, according to their judgment, in conformity with the decrees of the most excellent viceroys, the Marquis de Valero and the Duke de la Conquista.

10. That the mules, horses, and other things that were taken for the expeditions and the new missions shall be restored to the old missions.

11. That the royal warehouse shall pay what it owes the missions, in suitable goods or in warrants on this capital.

12. That the warehouse shall not receive products from the missions without paying their value in money or useful goods.

13. That to the Indians who may work on tasks for the king, or on other things, just daily wages shall be given.

14. That the month of June shall be designated for the sailing of the bark that is to carry the supplies to Loreto, and the month of February or April for those of San Diego and Monterey.

15. That some suitable stipend shall be designated for the missionaries who may go newly to those missions or who may return from them.

16. That four thousand pesos shall be given for the four missions of San Fernando Vellicatá, San Diego, Monterey, and San Buenaventura, a thousand pesos for each one, the same as was given to the other ten, according to the regulation of the visitor-general.

17. That the Dominican fathers, or others, shall take under their charge the four missions known as those of South California, contiguous to San Xavier, namely, San José del Cabo, Santiago de las Coras, Todos Santos, and San Xavier; and three of the North, namely, La Purísima Concepción, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, and Santa Rosalía de Mulegé, leaving for this College Loreto, San José Cumundú, San Ignacio, Santa Gertrudis, and San Borja.

18. That a sufficient ration shall be provided for the soldiers, so that they can work and guard the missions; and that the soldiers shall be approved by the fathers, as was ordered by the most excellent viceroys the Marquis de Valero and the Duke de

la Conquista in their decrees, which are set forth literally in the memorial that was presented.

His Excellency, having learned from the memorial presented by the reverend father guardian and the venerable Discretory of the measures that were asked for, and having seen the letters that I sent, replied to the father guardian and the venerable Discretory with the letter which is copied here:

Reply of His Excellency

In view of this representation of your Reverences dated the 23d of last December, and of the accompanying letters from the missionary fathers of California, in regard to the occurrence arising from the desertion of six soldiers and a muleteer from the presidio of San Diego, and in accordance with the statement made by the fiscal in his inspection, I have given the appropriate orders to the governor, Don Felipe Barry, and to the captain, Don Pedro Fages, so that, in regard to the points contained in the representation they may do everything possible to keep the missionary fathers in the tranquillity that they desire, in order that they may devote themselves solely to the spiritual conquest and make themselves beloved by the Indians. They are to inform me in this matter of anything they may consider necessary for the service of God and the King, and are to do everything possible, so long as it shall not cause trouble that calls for my decision.

With this object in view I sent to Barry a copy of those letters, so that, after having put them into effect, he may tell me what he has done on each point, and what remains to be done, to the end that the holy purposes for which missions have been established there may be realized. I inform your Reverences of all this, so that you may write to the missionary fathers that they may conduct their new spiritual conquests with all the suavity and sweetness fitting to their spirit, and required by the circumstances, character, and customs of those heathen. On this supposition I strictly charge the said Barry and Fages to assist them with all their strength, so that the sovereign intentions of his Majesty may be realized.

May God preserve your Reverences for many years. Mexico, March 18, 1772.

Antonio Bucareli y Urzua.

To the very reverend father guardian, and the discretory of San Fernando.

CHAPTER XXV

RESULTS OF THESE MEASURES

These measures were asked for by the father guardian and the venerable Discretory in virtue of the letters that I have already said were carried by Father Fray Juan Escudero. Although these orders were issued in March, and the reverend father guardian immediately sent them to me by the convoy of Sinaloa, they did not reach my hands until the month of December of the same year, after I had received by the same convoy in the month of August others dated April, May, and June. And the most surprising thing is that when these measures arrived some Dominican fathers had already been in California two and one half[47] months, although they had not yet received their missions, because their reverend father president had not arrived. I do not know what might have been the cause of the delay, nor where they were, but I do know that they did not have very good success, and it was for this reason, perhaps, that God disposed that they should not arrive sooner, so that greater evils might be avoided.

As soon as I received the letter from my father guardian, in which he told me what his Excellency had asked, and informed myself of its contents and of the reply of the viceroy, and of what my prelate said to me—that I should communicate it to the religious as his Excellency ordered—I wrote a circular letter, enclosing a copy of everything, so that the missionaries might know of it and be comforted. This was not so secretly done but that it came to the notice of the governor, who immediately sent me an official letter, called by him an exhortation. In it he said I had given out that orders had come to me from his Excellency to take charge of the Peninsula and that the governor had now no authority whatever, from which it had resulted on the Peninsula that everyone failed in subordination and obedience to him, which was the same as denying the sovereign; and that many serious injuries were resulting and greater ones threatening, for which I would be responsible. He therefore exhorted me, if I had such orders, to show them, and if I did not have them, to make it known to the Peninsula, in order to check the disorders that were threatening.

I at once responded to this exhortation, telling him that orders had not come to me, but to him; that if he desired to know the contents of the letters that I had received no exhortation was necessary; and that I was sending him a copy

of everything, including the measures and the reply of his Excellency. I added that in writing to me my father guardian had done nothing but to obey the command of his Excellency the Viceroy to communicate it to me, that I might communicate it to the friars, fulfilling the order of my prelate; that if this meant disobedience to the sovereign, what evils would not be caused by receiving orders from his Excellency the Viceroy and not obeying them; that I was ignorant of any harm done on the Peninsula; that if it were a matter for which it was incumbent upon him to find the remedy he should do his duty, but if it were my duty I would be gratified if he would inform me, and would endeavor to put a stop to it even at the cost of my blood.

The reverend Dominican fathers who were in Loreto saw what was going on, and were not ignorant of the pretensions of the governor. Being interested in the welfare of the missions which they were to receive, they advised me to reflect upon that clause of the exhortation in which it was said that greater injuries threatened for which I would be responsible. These fathers said that no doubt he put in that clause in allusion to what he had already arranged for—that is, that the Indians of the mission of San Xavier should mutiny and come in a mob to Loreto, to ask him, as governor, to remove the fathers of San Fernando, charging that they

could no longer bear their cruelty, and that by means of the orders that had come to them they would make an end of the missionaries. The fathers assured me that they knew this for certain, and that the soldier who was serving as guard at that mission was the one who carried the message from the governor to the Indians, telling them that on such a day (two days later) they were all to go to Loreto.

As soon as I learned this I despatched a courier, who set out at midnight for that mission. I wrote to the fathers at the mission that as soon as they received my letter Father José Murguía should come to Loreto, for it was necessary, and that Father Santa María should go at once to the mission, for it was important; and that they should not delay, even to take their clothing. Receiving my letter at daybreak, they complied at once. And to the two Dominican fathers who were there (because all of them could not stay at Loreto until their reverend father president, who was to receive the missions, should arrive), I wrote asking them to do me the favor to take care of that mission, for I had need of the two friars; and that I would be indebted to them, and that they should watch very carefully to see if there was any defection among the Indians.

On the same day that the fathers left, the Indians went to ask the Dominicans who remained for permission to go to Loreto. Although they

said at first that they were going on business, they finally explained that they were going because they were called by the governor to petition that the Fernandine fathers should be removed and the Dominicans put in their places. "But sons," they said, "there is no need for this now, for those fathers have already gone, and the father president has charged us with the care of the mission, and so there is no reason for going." Nevertheless, they persisted in going, saying that since the governor had called them for the next day he would punish them if they did not go. "Do no such thing!" they told them. "What you should do is to write him a letter, saying that in view of the fact that the fathers have already gone you will not go to trouble him. If you do this it is certain that he will not say anything to you."

In this way the uprising was checked, and although one of the Dominicans came afterwards to beg me to permit the other fathers to return or to go myself, everything was now settled. I did not wish to go nor to permit fathers to go, not even when one of the principal offenders wrote to me and begged pardon in his name and that of the rest. I did this to avoid the danger of something happening, and I only allowed Father Murguía to go in due time to deliver the mission.

This action averted the harm that the governor told me was threatening. Not being able to contain himself when he saw his plans and his reply to my paper frustrated, he gave vent to his anger in another paper, putting in it all that he knew about the fathers, even that a missionary had treated him as an ignorant person when he confessed him. The entire document consisted of old stories and fabrications, telling me at the same time that I would see if harm had not followed from giving out such orders; and he employed his time and paper in explaining the orders of the viceroy to his taste and palate. But I, in order to put out the fire, replied that I was informed of the contents of his letter, and that his Excellency would come to a decision, after examining his letter and my response, which I would send him so that he might decide as he might think best. Although this affair occurred in the year 1773, I have wished to include it here because it resulted from the measures which the reverend father guardian and the venerable Discretory had obtained from his Excellency the Viceroy in favor of the missions.*

* Palóu now goes back in his story to September, 1771.

CHAPTER XXVI

ARRIVAL OF THE FIFTEEN FRIARS AT LORETO, AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE MISSIONS

In the month of September, 1771, the packet *Concepción* arrived at Loreto. Its boatswain said that he had sailed from San Blas with the object of going to Tamazula to bring the missionaries; but the storms had not permitted him to make that port, and, being fearful of the equinoctial storm he went to take refuge in the port of Escondido, where he remained till the middle of October, when he sailed for Santa Cruz. He there embarked the fathers, who arrived on the 24th of November. In all there were fifteen. They gave us the news that the missionary fathers Fray José Herrera, son of the College, and Fray Francisco Texada, of the province of Burgos, had remained ill in Tepic. The arrival of the fathers caught me at the mission of San José Cumundú, with the father preacher Fray Juan Ramos de Lora. Having left the mission in the care of Father Fray Marcelino Senra, he had come to inform me of the state of the mission, to see what could be done before it should go entirely to ruin.

As soon as I learned of the arrival of the fifteen friars I wrote to the governor, telling him that in view of the coming of the missionary fathers I had decided to set about founding some of the missions which his Excellency had so strongly recommended, as soon as he should decide what escorts he could give me for that purpose. To this he replied that he would see about it; that he was without soldiers; that he had expected that some would come with that bark, as he had asked Don Pedro Corbalán, governor of Sonora, for them, but he had replied that he had not found any one who wished to go; and that, therefore, it would not be feasible for the present to begin the founding of any mission. In view of this, I decided to distribute the friars among the missions until the founding should be put into effect, and I gave them the following destinations:

For the mission of Vellicatá I appointed Fathers Fray Vicente Fuster and Fray Antonio Linares, so that they might be with Father Miguel de la Campa, to take care of the mission of San Fernando as well as that of Santa María.

For Santa Gertrudis, Father Fray Gregorio Amurrio, companion of Father Fray Juan Sancho.

For San Ignacio, Father Fray José Legomera, companion of Father Fray Juan de Medina Veitía.

For Santa Rosalía de Mulegé, Father Fray Pedro Arrequiebar, companion of Father Fray Sierra.[48]

For Guadalupe, Father Fray Manuel Lago, companion of Father Fray Andrés Villaumbrales.

For La Purísima, the reverend fathers Fray Francisco Echasco and Fray Martín Palacios, companions of Father Fray Juan Gastón.

For San José Cumundú, Fathers Fray Juan Prestamero, Fray Tomás de la Peña, and Fray Vicente Imas.

For San Xavier, Father Fray Ramón Ussón, companion of Father Fray Fernando Parrón, who had come from San Diego and had been administering the mission of San Xavier ever since Father Fray Juan Escudero had gone away ill.

For Loreto, Father Fray Vicente Santa María, companion of Father Fray José Murguía.

For Todos Santos, Father Fray Miguel Sánchez, companion of Father Fray Marcelino Senra.

Seeing that no curate had come for the mission or town of Santiago, I decided that Father Villuendas should go to help Father Fray Juan Antonio Riobóo, one to take care of Santiago and the other of San José del Cabo, with orders not to interfere in the smallest way in the temporal affairs of those towns. They

were all pleased with their appointments, and set out for their destinations.

As soon as I was left free by the departure of the fathers for their missions, I had some talk with Father Ramos about his, and we agreed between us to renounce it. I made the renunciation in writing to the governor, telling him that of the many families of Guicuros removed by the visitor to the mission of Todos Santos but few remained, because of the great number of deaths in the epidemics that had occurred at that mission; that the few who had remained had not settled down there, but constantly ran away; and that in the mission they did nothing but destroy property, stealing everything they could, not sparing even sacred things, for they had just stolen a silver cruet from the church. I also told him that there was no way to subdue them; that the soldiers of the escort no longer dared tell them anything, for they immediately went to complain to the lieutenant at Santa Ana, spreading a thousand tales and stories; and that the father was compelled to keep servants for everything, even to bring wood for the kitchen of those Indians.

This state of affairs resulted in extraordinary expenses to the mission; and, with the order that all the servants from the other shore who were serving in South California should return to the provinces whence they had come, the mission had not enough to work the lands or perform the

other tasks of the mission. In view of all this I found myself compelled to resign that mission, and begged that he would agree that the few families of Indians left should be divided among the missions of the North; for by apportioning four families to each mission it would be easy to subject them to the example of the rest, and their souls would be saved, which I doubted very much if they remained in the mission of Todos Santos. For, as they were not settled in it there was every likelihood that they would die in the hills, as had happened to most of those who had been moved to that mission.

I added that if the camp of Santa Ana should be abandoned, the Spanish residents and civilized Indians could settle at Todos Santos, which they would gladly do if promise were made to divide the lands and cattle of that mission among themselves. I told him that I asked for nothing but the few Indians that remained for the missions of the North, for the purpose of saving their souls. I said that the residents spoken of could be ministered to by the curate of Santa Ana, who should receive the church of Todos Santos with all the vestments, sacred vessels, and utensils of church and sacristy, and also the house with all its furniture. In this way the expense of stipends for the missionaries would be saved, and these workers would be available for the new reductions. By this arrangement the wages of soldiers for the De-

partment of the South would also be saved, for if the Indians should be removed the soldiers would be superfluous, and in case of necessity the residents, being interested in their own lands, would take up arms.

After considering this letter the governor replied that he had no authority to accept my resignation, but that he would send it to his Excellency, accompanied by a report which he would make; but that he had no doubt that my request was justified. In view of his reply, and seeing that his opposition to our government in the missions was increasing every day; and that the missionaries could make no progress on account of the unruliness of the Indians, caused by the protection given them by the governor; and that we could not check the serious mischief that was occurring throughout the Peninsula, we resolved that Father Ramos should go to Mexico to inform his Excellency of everything. With this object he embarked, with Captain Don Fernando de Rivera, in the middle of January, 1772, and arrived in March, at a time when it was being seriously planned that the reverend Dominican fathers should come to take over some of the missions. The arrival of Father Ramos gave impetus to the renunciation of all of California, even of the five missions to be founded between San Diego and Vellicatá, as I shall relate in the proper place.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE REVEREND FATHER GUARDIAN WRITES FOR INFORMATION OF THE STATE OF THE MISSIONS; COPY OF A REPORT SENT TO HIM IN FEBRUARY, 1772

Two days after the departure of Father Ramos for Mexico I received a letter from the reverend father guardian of the College, dated June 1, 1771, in which he asks me for a complete report of all the missions; and since this report contains full information about them all, it has seemed best to copy it here, seeing that I omitted copying the one that was made for the Royal Council, which I spoke of in that chapter.

The Reverend Father Guardian's Letter

Reverend Father President, Fray Francisco Palóu:

I have written several letters to your Reverence, which I hope you will receive, even if late, and for this reason I will now say only what is necessary. I have learned through a letter written by the new governor that everybody is perishing on that Peninsula for lack of food. Therefore, in this particular and others that I will speak of, you will

report to me with detail and accuracy, and you will instruct all the rest of the fathers to do the same, each in regard to his own mission:

1. How many families has each mission, what ranches, towns, and roads, and at what distances?

2. How much land has each for planting, and how many workmen?

3. How many yokes of oxen has each left, and how many mules and horses?

4. Are the last decrees, issued for the good of the Indians by the preceding governor, Don Matías de Armona, being observed?

5. Is it true that they compel the Indians to dive[49] in dangerous beds where the sharks, tintoreras, and other fish kill many of them?

6. Ascertain as far as possible the state of the mines of Santa Ana, and if it is true that they are ruined. This, although it appears to be irrelevant to our state, is not so, in view of things as they are today.

7. Is it true that they have again begun to pay the soldiers of that presidio, sending them their wages in money?

8. Finally, anything that your Reverence may regard as conducive to the advancement of the missions in spiritual and temporal affairs you will promptly report to me in duplicate. If it happens that any father is coming away from there because of illness you may send the report by him, and, according to what they tell me, it may come also

by way of Guaymas. There is nothing more to say. May the Lord in His holy love and grace keep you in health, etc.[50]

June 1, 1771. The faithful servant and friend of your Reverence, FRAY RAFAEL VERGER.

THE REPORT

Very Reverend Father Fray Rafael Verger.

My Venerated[51] Father Guardian:

On the 18th of last January I received your Reverence's letter dated June 1st of last year, in which you asked me for a report on the various points contained in it, principally in regard to all these missions, their condition, distances, etc., and on everything that might seem to me to be conducive to their spiritual and temporal advancement. As a bark is ready to sail for the provinces across the Gulf I have immediately set to work on it, since it is directed to the good of these poor Indians, and since at the time when that letter reached me I had just received from all the missionaries their individual reports. I shall endeavor not to leave out the smallest item, and after giving adequate information of the state of the entire Peninsula I shall try to suggest some aid, so that these poor Indians may be freed from the grave need from which they are now suffering, occasioned by the ravages made by the plague of locusts, about which the governor has written with truth. I will begin the report with Cape San Lucas, speaking in detail of each one of the missions.[52]

Mission of San José del Cabo

This mission, which is distant about twelve leagues from the very point of Cape San Lucas, or the bay of San Bernabé, was founded about half a league from the shore of the Gulf of California, or the sea called the North Sea, where the China ship generally drops anchor to take on refreshments furnished it by the town named and that of Santiago de las Coras, the one nearest to it. It is in latitude twenty-two and one-half degrees. It was begun in the year 1730, its first missionary being the Venerable Father Nicholás Tamaral, who with the father of Santiago, was shortly afterwards killed by the Indians. The Marquis de Villapuente endowed this mission with ten thousand pesos, so that the annual interest of five hundred pesos might serve for the support of the missionary father. It was in charge of the reverend fathers of the Company of Jesus from its foundation until the expulsion, which occurred in the early part of December, 1767, although in the last years the father missionary did not reside in the mission, but only took care of the few Indians that he had there. In the latter part of April, 1768, it was taken charge of by this apostolic College, whose first missionary was the father preacher, Fray Juan Morán. After working there for fourteen months he died in that mission and in its ministry, for, while serving the afflicted, one day when coming from a confession he felt himself stricken and died immediately.

During the inspection which he made at this mission the illustrious visitor-general, Don José de Gálvez, seeing the small number of Indians of which it was composed, ordered that a village should come from San Xavier to settle there, so that they might take advantage of its good land. This was done, and twelve families, comprising forty-four souls, went there. All of them except three died in the epidemic of the year 1769, and today there remain only fifty persons, young and old. Before leaving the Peninsula the visitor raised the mission of Santiago de las Coras to a parish, assigning to it as a dependent town this mission of San José, for which reason it left the charge of the College. It passed under that of the bishop of Guadalaxara, and its first curate was Don Juan Antonio Baeza, who, in the month of November, 1770, abandoned his curacy and left the Peninsula. Up to the month of April, 1771, it was administered by the curate of the camp of Santa Ana, when, by order of the most Excellent Viceroy, the Marquis de Croix, I put there one of the missionary fathers, Father Fray Juan Antonio Riobóo, to administer its spiritual affairs, the care of temporal matters being entrusted to a secular appointed by the government of the Peninsula. For this reason, and because of my ignorance of its present state, I cannot give a report to your Reverence.

Mission of Santiago de las Coras

It is distant from the preceding about eighteen leagues; is about five leagues back from the Gulf coast; and is in 23 degrees north latitude. The Marquis de Villapuente endowed it in 1719 with ten thousand pesos, like the foregoing, and with this endowment it was administered by the fathers of the Company from its founding until their expulsion, which was at the same time as that of the preceding mission. In April, 1768, it was taken over by this apostolic College, whose first missionary[53] was the father prior, Fray José Murguía. The visitor, finding during his stay that this mission had but few Indians, nearly all ill with syphilis, ordered that all the families of Todos Santos who were contaminated with the same disease should be moved there, with the object of bringing a skilled surgeon to treat them. The removal was effected in the month of October of the same year, and they were ministered to by the same missionary father until April, 1769, when, by order of the visitor, the mission was raised into a parish, as I already have said. Its first curate was Bachelor Baeza, already mentioned. In a few months the epidemic spoken of in the preceding chapter broke out and killed off all those who had gone from Todos Santos, and as a large part of the natives of Santiago died from the same cause it is now reduced to only sixty[54] souls, young and old.

This town was administered by the curate until the beginning of November, 1770, when he went to Guadalaxara, and after his departure by the curate of the camp of Santa Ana. After that time, by special request of his Excellency I had to place a friar there, and at present its spiritual administration is in charge of Father Fray Francisco Villuendas, while the temporal is in the care of a steward appointed by the government of the Peninsula. For this reason I know nothing of its condition, although the father mentioned writes me that it, and also the mission of San José and their towns, are very backward, lacking corn and living solely on the meat of wild cattle that they kill.

Mission of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, commonly called Todos Santos

This mission, endowed by the same Marquis as the preceding, was founded in 1719 in the place called La Paz, on the bay of the same name, on the Gulf, in latitude twenty-three degrees and four minutes. After some years it was moved to the place named Todos Santos, almost in the same latitude but on the west coast, about half a league distant from the shore of the Great or Pacific Sea. It is distant from Santiago about thirty leagues because of the detour that is made, for the high mountains do not permit a direct approach. This mission was administered by the fathers of the Company of Jesus from its founding until their

departure, which was at the same time as in the preceding case. In April, 1768, it came under the charge of the College, Father Fray Juan Ramos de Lora receiving it as master.

The illustrious visitor, on the visit that he made to it, seeing the place so good and abundant in land and water, and that it had so few Indians, all infected with syphilis, decided to remove them to Santiago, as I have said; and that this mission should be settled by the entire Guicuro nation, of which the two missions of La Pasión and San Luís Gonzaga were composed, for the reason that these sites were not capable of supporting them in a settlement, through lack of good land and scarcity of water. This was done in September, 1768, when more than seven hundred souls were settled at this mission, and the two former missions were completely extinguished.

The new settlers have been so ungrateful for the good that was done them in changing their fortunes that they have not been willing to settle down there, and only by threats and punishments have they been induced to remain for a time, but more to destroy what the mission has than to advance it. Therefore, if the plan of the visitor, to place there paid servants and stewards from the outside for the cultivation of the land, had not been adopted, the mission would have gone entirely to ruin. The expense caused by their desertion has not been small, for the mission is compelled to

maintain men to do nothing else but go after the deserters. The contagious disease which I said destroyed the mission, many dying of it and not a few in the hills, was the cause of its having today but one hundred and seventy souls on the register, and of these some thirty have fled and are living in the woods. The state of the mission and the progress which it has made while under the care of Father Ramos your Reverence already must have seen in the inventories of that mission which I sent you by the hand of that father. There are about four hundred head of cattle, counting tame and branded, besides many runaways that cannot be counted; one hundred head of mares and fillies, forty horses, seventy mules, one hundred head of sheep, and one hundred and fifty goats, besides the money, which amounts to more than four thousand pesos; many tools and articles for the house have been added, besides vestments and utensils for the sacristy. You must also have read in the resignation that I made to the governor what small hope there is on the spiritual side.

I hope that after your Reverence has considered the reasons that I give in the report, you will energetically urge that the resignation be accepted. Upon this point and others pertaining to this mission Father Ramos will inform your Reverence, for he set out for this purpose from this mission of Loreto on the 15th of last January. Fathers Fray Marcelino Senra and Fray Miguel Sánchez are administering the mission.

Mining Camp of Santa Ana

It is between the two missions of Santiago and Todos Santos, distant from the latter about twelve leagues and from the former about eighteen. It was founded at the time of the arrival of the visitor, who bought for this purpose, on account of the king, the ranch of Don Manuel de Ocio, which has a chapel. They added some houses for the clerks in the royal service, and some private persons, though but a few, followed his example. From the very first they occupied themselves in gathering ore, but they did not begin the smelting until the coming of Señor Armona. From what I have heard from men skilled in the science, the ore is so poor that it does not pay to work it; on the contrary it has occasioned extraordinary expense. It is common talk that these mines[55] are of no account, and I believe this information must have reached the ears of the illustrious visitor-general, for an order came from that gentleman, dated in December last, to the effect that to all the Indians from the province of Sinaloa and Sonora, who had been brought to work in the mines, permission should be given to go to their respective towns, or that they should even be ordered to go. This had already been published in the camp of Santa Ana. At the same time, they told me, an order came for the sale of everything pertaining to the branch of mining, and also that the mines should be sold if any one could be found to buy them, and

if not, that they should be given to whomsoever can work them, from which I infer that the mines have not turned out as they expected and announced at the beginning.

If the king's workmen are taken away, the camp may be regarded as extinguished, and its curate will be left without the support of the daily peso which has been given to him from the branch of mining since his appointment. And there will be no parishioners left for him but some few residents of two little camps in the neighborhood called San Antonio and El Oro, which, before the arrival of the visitor, when they were more populous, were administered by the missionary father of Todos Santos, and which are incapable of maintaining a curate.

In regard to this point and the privations they are suffering in this camp, Father Ramos can give more detailed information, since in all this time his mission has been aiding them. The camp is distant from the coast of the Gulf a little more than seven leagues, and from it one may see through a break in the mountains the beach or island of Cerralvo.

Mission of San Francisco Xavier

This mission was founded in the early part of October, 1699. Don Juan Caballero endowed it with ten thousand pesos, so that the interest, five hundred pesos, might serve for the support of the missionary father, as I said in the preceding paragraphs. In the beginning it was situated in a place called by the

natives Biaundó, among some mountains named Biggé; but after some time it became necessary to move, on account of the scarcity of water, to the place where it is now permanently located. This is a narrow valley, open only to the north and south winds, and enclosed on the other sides by high, arid, dry hills, composed entirely of stone. It is close to an arroyo which flows only in the rainy season, but to the north there is a large well of water connected with some small springs. From this well the water is conducted by a ditch to the mission, where it is collected in two tanks of stone and mortar for the irrigation of the small amount of land, which is fenced in with a wall of dry stone. Even in a year of abundant rains, when it is possible to plant all the land, the corn planted does not exceed five bushels. According to what they tell me, even this occurs very rarely, and the usual amount that can be planted is two bushels, as there is not enough water for more.

It has some grape vines which they call vineyards, and some olives, figs, guavas, and other fruit trees. It has the best church on the Peninsula, made of stone and mortar, with arches and sacristy. Part of the dwelling-house is made of the same material, and the rest of adobe, roofed with tules. Besides the land spoken of, some fields were planted at the site of the old mission, some three leagues north of the present one, where planting may be done, although there is no crop except in a year of

abundant rains, and I am told that it has been more than ten years since any planting was done there. Also, toward the south, about four leagues distant from the mission, there is another piece called La Presentación, where in years of heavy rains it is customary to plant about two bushels of corn.

This mission was in charge of the Jesuits from its foundation until the latter part of January, 1768. Then the Jesuit father left it and it went under the care of the College on the 6th day of April, when I received it, because the father president, Fray Junípero Serra, had named me as its minister. From that time until the 24th of November, 1771, eighty-three children were baptized, one hundred and fifteen died among young and old, and fourteen were married. When I received this mission it had, besides the chief town, three auxiliary towns, named Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Santa Rosalía, and Old San Xavier. But they were towns in name only, without church or dwellings, for only in two was there a little house or so, not above four, all the rest being without better house or shelter than the shade of such little trees as there are, with a sort of a little fence of stones or branches. By order of the visitor-general all the people were moved to the chief town, but when he saw that there was not enough land on which to raise bread for the support of all, he ordered twelve families sent to live at San José del Cabo, as I already have said, and twenty-five families at Loreto. With this loss the

mission was much reduced, and it has at present only sixty families of married persons and seven widows, making altogether two hundred and twelve persons, children and adults.

This mission has a ranch of cattle, but all are wild, and there are only six tame cows, six calves, sixteen breeding cows, eight bulls, and six yokes of oxen broken to the plow, with four plows and eight plow points.

All the rest of the cattle are wild and cannot be counted because they are scattered as far as the other coast; and they tell me many are dying on account of the scarcity of pasture, which was all eaten up by the locusts. Through the same lack many horses and mules have died, and there remain only twenty-six brood mares with seven colts, four of them horses and three mules, thirteen jennies with two colts, two jacks, and twenty-two tame mules, two of which are half broken. Seven of the mules are unserviceable from old age; the rest are very thin on account of the total lack of pasture, and are worn out from carrying the corn from Loreto, as no crop was harvested last year.

Although wheat was planted three times, the locusts destroyed it every time. They are therefore compelled to live on corn from the royal warehouse at Loreto, paying for it at six pesos a load, besides the charge for carriage; and if this succor should fail the mission would be on the point of ruin. It has at present a field of corn which promises well,

and a good crop is hoped for if God saves it from the chahuistle, which is apt to ruin the crops at the best time. The mission has twenty-two tame herding horses, although at present they are unserviceable on account of being thin from the lack of pasture. It has seven hundred and thirty-three head of sheep and two hundred and seventy of goats, although on account of the scarcity of pasture many are dying.

The vintage of wine, from which came the means to pay for the corn, was very small, on account of the damage done by the locusts to the vines, for the mission has only twenty jugs of wine holding fifty quarts each. And the wine is very poor, on account of the damage mentioned, which was also experienced in the fruit trees, many of which dried up and others wilted.

This is not to be wondered at, for, according to what the old men say, there have been more locusts than ever were seen before, and they have stayed longer, for at this mission they held on more than a year, no means having been found to drive them off. This plague was followed by the drought. It killed the locusts, which died of hunger, but it has deprived the whole mountain range of pasture, and it is causing great mortality among all kinds of cattle and beasts of burden, and great sorrow to the fathers at seeing such losses.

This mission is in latitude twenty-five and a half degrees. It is distant about eight leagues from the Gulf where the royal presidio is, two leagues over a

horrible road travelling three leagues to the north, and thence five to the east. The roughness of the mountains makes impossible a direct road from the Great Sea or the opposite coast, which is distant a day and a half. From the mission of San José Cumundú to the north it is twelve leagues, the greater part of the road being over very rough ridges.

From the mission of Todos Santos and the camp of Santa Ana, which lie south of it, the distance is about one hundred leagues. Forty leagues in the same direction is the site of the extinguished mission of San Luís Gonzaga.

At the last-named place the visitor established the family of a retired soldier, giving him possession of the land in writing, and allowing him the use of the same dwelling in which the missionary father had lived, while the church served as chapel for the ranch. He gave orders that from time to time the missionary father of San Xavier should go to say Mass for them and that when there were two fathers one should go every month, and in Lent, so that the obligation of confession and communion might be fulfilled. This was a heavier charge, on account of the long and uninhabited road, than if it had been as before, with the three dependent towns, for the one most distant was no more than four leagues from the mission.

If you desire to know anything further about this mission, you can inquire of Father Fray Juan

Escudero, who was its minister, for I have no doubt that he will now be at the College.

Mission of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, at the Royal Presidio

This was the first mission founded on the Peninsula, and was begun on the 25th of October, 1697. On that day possession was taken of the Peninsula in the name of his Majesty, and the first Mass was celebrated by the Venerable Father Juan María de Salvatierra of the Company of Jesus. It is situated on the shore of the bay called San Dionisio, in latitude twenty-five and one-half degrees. To the east lies Carmen Island, and to the south-southeast another called Los Danzantes. They form two mouths, one between the two islands, which they call Boca Chica, and the other between the Island of Los Danzantes and the mainland.[56] In this one is the entrance to the port of Escondido, where the ships find a refuge from all winds, which they do not find in the bay of San Dionisio, where they are also prevented from drawing near the land by the shallow bottom, for even the launches belonging there drop anchor outside. The port of Escondido is about seven leagues distant from the mission, part of the way over a very bad road. To the northeast there is another island called El Coronado, and between it and Carmen a mouth is found called Boca Grande. Between Coronado and

the point of the mainland there is another small mouth, but even large ships may enter by it.

Don Juan Caballero endowed this mission with ten thousand pesos in the year 1698, as I said in the preceding chapter. It was in charge of the fathers of the Company from its foundation until the early part of February, 1768, the year of their departure from the Peninsula. In this time, as appears from the books, one thousand, six hundred and forty-six persons were baptized, including children and adults, Indians and Spaniards. They buried one thousand, three hundred and twenty-nine, and performed two hundred and ninety-two marriages among Spaniards and Indians.

It came under the care of this College on the first day of April, 1768, its first missionaries being the reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra, and his companion, Fray Fernando Parrón, although they had only the care of spiritual affairs until they left with the expedition to Monterey, when Bachelor Don Pedro Fernández, chaplain of the expedition to Guaymas, entered upon its administration. He remained there until the first of May, 1769, when it again came under the care of the College, and I went, by order of the visitor, to administer it in both spiritual and temporal matters. From the departure of the Jesuit fathers up to the latter part of December, 1771, seventy-six children, Spanish and Indian, were baptized. One hundred and thirty-one died, and twenty were married.

On the shore side of the mission is the royal presidio, separated from the mission only by the church and monastery, which are made of stone and mortar, with flat roofs. The camp is inhabited at present only by women, the families of the soldiers, as most of the latter are in San Diego and Monterey and on the frontiers. Opposite the camp are the barracks of the king's sailors, where also there are usually women only, as their husbands are on the ships. The mission is situated on a beautiful broad plain, which, on account of the lack of water, from springs or rain, cannot be planted at all. For the mission they make use of water from wells, which is rather salty.

During his inspection the visitor, finding the mission so depopulated of Indians that there were to be counted only nineteen families of married people, ordered it increased up to one hundred families by bringing twenty-five from San Xavier and the rest from the other missions of the North. I put this decree into effect in part by immediately bringing the twenty-five from San Xavier, but I postponed bringing the rest because there is nothing with which to support them. In regard to this point and the rest that has happened in this mission I refer to the information that I have given the venerable Discretory, through Father Basterra and just recently through Father Ramos.

The mission is composed of forty families, making one hundred and sixty persons. It has a

ranch of cattle, all wild, so that the number is not known, for there are no tame ones. It has thirty-two mares, four stallions, and twelve colts, fourteen gentle mules and three half broken, thirty-four herding horses, and no sheep or goats. It has no other resources for feeding and clothing the Indians than the cattle that they succeed in killing on the ranch. From this mission to San Xavier it is eight leagues, five to the west and three toward the south; to San José Cumundú it is eighteen, five to the west and the rest to the northwest,[57] mostly over very rough hills. It is distant forty leagues from the mission of Santa Rosalía de Mulegé, which is in a northerly direction, and close to the coast of the Gulf. In this intervening space are the cattle of the mission, adjacent to those of Mulegé.

Mission of San José Cumundú

This mission was founded in the beginning of the year 1708, on the site called Cumundú, twenty leagues from Loreto in a northerly direction, in the middle of the mountain range of the same name, and almost at equal distances from the two seas. The Marquis de Villapuente endowed it with ten thousand pesos, like the preceding. Its first missionary was Father Julián de Mayorca, of the Company of Jesus.

After many years they moved it to its present site, a long narrow valley running east and west, in

latitude twenty-six degrees. It has a good spring of water running through a canal, and with it they irrigate the land of the valley. The planting usually amounts to eight bushels of wheat and five of corn; it has vineyards, olives, fig-trees, pomegranates, and other fruit trees, and some sweet sugar-cane which they usually grind up and make into panocha to pay expenses. This mission does not as a rule suffer from famine, because of the crops of wheat and corn that it generally gathers. They raise considerable cotton, with which they make cloth to help out with the clothing; and they make blankets from the wool of the sheep. The church and part of the dwelling are made of stone and mortar, with the arches and the rest of stone, all covered with tule.

From its founding until the month of January, 1768, it was in charge of the Jesuit fathers, and from the 8th of April of the same year it was in the care of this College. Its first minister was Father Antonio Martínez, from whose time up to the 9th of December, 1771, there were baptized ninety-four children, and there had died, including children and adults, two hundred and forty-one, while twenty-eight had been married. It has no dependent town, for all live at the mission. There are at present eighty-two families of married people, making two hundred and sixteen souls.

The mission has many wild cattle, but only twenty tame ones, and five plow oxen. There are six broken young oxen, and six milch cows with five

calves; thirty-four gentle mules and forty unbroken ones; fifty-two gentle horses for herding; twenty-one colts to be broken; seventy-seven brood mares with twenty horse colts and seven mule colts; twenty-eight two-year-old horses and fillies; twelve burros, male and female; fifteen hundred sheep, sixty-four ewes with fifty-nine lambs; six hundred and twelve rams of all ages; one hundred and fifty wethers; making in all two thousand, three hundred and eighty-five head. Besides, it has forty swine and three hundred and sixty-five goats. On the 18th of December it was computed that it had about two hundred and thirty bushels of bearded wheat, three of white wheat, and two hundred and fifty of corn; of panocha about eighteen arrobas;* of dried figs about forty-eight arrobas; of dried grapes about five arrobas; of wine sixty-six jugs holding sixty quarts each. It has about six bushels of bearded wheat which is doing well.

This mission is eighteen leagues distant from the royal presidio of Loreto, thirteen toward the north and the remaining five toward the west; from that of San Xavier twelve leagues, and from Purísima ten, half of it over bad road. From the Great Sea it is fourteen leagues distant, and from the Gulf about twenty, by a bad road.

* An arroba is twenty-five pounds.

Mission of Purísima de Cadegomó

This mission was founded in the year 1718, and was endowed by the Marquis de Villapuente, as has been said about the rest.[58] It was in charge of the fathers of the Company until January, 1768, and in April of the same year it was received into the care of the College by Father Fray Juan Crespi. From that time until the 8th of December, 1771, thirty-nine children were baptized; one hundred and twenty died among the children and adults, and fifteen were married. There are no dependent towns, for all live in the chief pueblo. There are forty-nine families of married people, seven widowers and three widows, with sixty boys and girls of all ages, making altogether one hundred and sixty-eight.

This mission is distant from that of Cumundú about ten leagues; from that of Guadalupe about thirty-seven; from the Great Sea nine, and from the Gulf about twenty-five. It is in latitude twenty-six and a half degrees, and is situated on the bank of an arroyo called Cadegomó on a beautiful site and in a delightful climate. It has sufficient farming land to make it possible to sow many bushels of wheat, with plenty of water from the arroyo, although for irrigation it depends upon a very long dam, the width of the stream; and during the floods, in very rainy years, the dam is carried away, as happened in 1770, for which reason the mission fell

behind, as they were a long time in rebuilding it because of the lack of men. But, thanks to God, they finished it, and this mission is again in running order. It has a church partly of stone and mortar, partly of adobes, and roofed with tule. The dwelling-house is of the same material.

It has vineyards and many fig-trees and pomegranates, and they gather a great deal of cotton to help supply the clothing. They generally dry a great many figs, and some years nine hundred bushels have been collected, although last year they gathered only three hundred, because of the damage caused by the locusts. On account of the same plague they did not harvest a grain of wheat, but of corn they expect to gather about two hundred bushels. At present they have seven bushels of wheat sown, and if it escapes the chahuistle they will harvest a fine crop. Of wine it has about sixty jugs holding sixty quarts each. It has no ranch nor a place for one; except that in the neighborhood of the mission it has twenty-eight gentle but old oxen, and it can collect only four good yokes. It has nineteen milch cows and one bull, twelve heifer calves and eleven bull calves. Of wild cattle, running to the four winds, there are more than can be counted. Of brood mares there are thirty-seven with two stallions and two jacks for breeding; sixteen gentle mules, one for the saddle and another that is being broken; four unbroken mules; sixteen jennies for breeding, with one stallion; sixteen gentle male and

female burros for working; nineteen fillies and seventeen horses from one to two years old. Of sheep, small and large, it has two thousand and seventy-four head, and of goats two hundred and eleven.

Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe

This mission was endowed by the Marquis de Villapuente, like the preceding, and it had its beginning in the month of April, 1720. It was conducted by the Jesuit fathers from its founding until January of 1768. It came into the care of the College and was received by Father Fray Juan Sancho de la Torre in April of the same year. From that time, up to September of 1771, fifty-three children were baptized; among young and old one hundred and thirty died, and twenty-eight were married. On account of the large number of deaths and the removal of some, by order of the visitor-general, to the missions of San José and Purísima, this mission has been left very short of neophytes, and it has only thirty-nine families of married people, which comprise, including everybody and their children of both sexes and all ages, one hundred and forty souls. All live in the chief town, with no dependent villages.

The mission is in the middle of the Peninsula, almost equally distant from both seas, in latitude twenty-seven degrees, distant from the Gulf eighteen leagues and from the Great Sea about twenty.

From the mission of Purísima, which lies to the southward, it is thirty-seven leagues distant; from that of San Ignacio to the north, twenty-five; and from that of Mulegé, to the east, eighteen. It is situated in a narrow valley on the slope of a very high mountain range, and they must have worked hard to make a level place for the church and dwelling-house, which are built of adobes with tule roof. In the middle of the valley there is a stream with a very small amount of water, which they collect with a dam of earth, in order to irrigate the small piece of land, which does not permit of sowing more than a bushel.

On the slope of the sierra, close to the mission, there are some jets or springs of water of the thickness of a finger, which is collected in a tank of stone and mortar; it serves to water a small vegetable garden and some fruit trees, such as figs, pomegranates, and a few vines, although the latter do not yield much in this mission.

Eight leagues from the mission towards the south there is a place called San Miguel, which was formerly a dependent town. The chapel and dwelling for the father still remain on the bank of the stream, the same one that passes by the mission; and at this place it seems that there is a better supply of water, which is retained by an earth dam. It forms a pool, with which is watered what land there is, providing for about two bushels of corn. In the latter part of August, when I passed by that spot,

the land was planted in corn already in ears, but while I was there the locusts came down and destroyed it all. There was no means of preventing it, and they left only the stalks, not so much as one ear being gathered. Towards the opposite coast, or Pacific Sea, eighteen leagues in a westerly direction from the mission, there is another place called San José de Gracia,* which has plenty of water retained by a dam, and enough land to plant about three bushels of wheat. At this place there are some fig trees and vines, although the latter yield very little here also. Last August when I passed by that mission they had there a good patch of beans already in flower, but later the news came that the locusts fell on it and destroyed it. They afterwards planted it in wheat, and if no misfortune happens they will come out of the privations from which they are now suffering. They have no other succor than that which can be sent to them from the royal warehouse at Loreto, with the labor of transporting it forty leagues by sea and eighteen by land, which is the distance to Mulegé. But as there is no anchorage for it, they have no resource but the meat of the beef cattle that they may kill among the herds, of which they have a great many on the opposite coast.

The above-named place of San José is about five leagues distant from the Great Sea. There are good estuaries, some of which run inland as far as three leagues, and at low tide they catch plenty of fish on the shore. Going to the south, about eight

* It is south rather than west.

leagues, one comes to a large bay called San Juan Nepomuceno, where the sea is very calm, though apparently protected only from the south. Here the arroyos called San Andrés and Del Valle come to an end; they only flow when it rains, yet by digging wells water is easily found. It might serve to supply drinking water to the barks that go to and come from San Diego and Monterey.

This mission is the most abundant of them all in pasture for every kind of cattle, as the rains are usually very copious here; but they do not serve for seasonal crops because they do not come at the right times, and at the best time they are lacking. On account of the abundance of pasture good meat is obtained, for as a rule the cattle are fat. It has a stock ranch at the place called El Valle, about two leagues from the mission. On it there are seventy-six[59] mares, with four stallions and two jacks for breeding. All the young of last year and twenty of the preceding were eaten by lions, which are very abundant. It has fifty-two saddle horses, twenty-two gentle mules, six saddle mules and two unbroken, eleven jacks and fifteen jennies, with one colt; tame and branded cattle two hundred and twelve head, many of them milch cows, from whose milk good cheeses are made; of sheep it has nine hundred and forty-seven head, and of goats three hundred and eighty-three head.

Mission of Santa Rosalía de Mulegé

This mission was endowed by Don Nicolás de Arteaga with ten thousand pesos, like the preceding, and it had its beginning in the year 1705. It was in charge of the Jesuit fathers until January, 1768, and it was received into the care of this College by Father Fray Juan Gastón in April of the same year. From that time up to the latter part of August, 1771, forty-eight children had been baptized;[60] including children and adults, one hundred and thirteen had died, and seventeen had been married. It has no dependent town, and all live in the mission, which is composed of forty-six families of married people, making one hundred and eighty souls.

It is situated on the slope of a high mountain range, on the bank of a large stream called Mulegé, which empties into an estuary of the Gulf, from whose shore the mission is about half a league distant, but on account of the winding of the stream among the hills the sea cannot be seen from the mission. It has a church of stone and mortar with a dome; and the sacristy and dwelling are of the same material and roofed with tule. There is no level place for the town, and the houses are on the slope of the hill, behind the church and the father's dwelling. It is in latitude twenty-six degrees, forty minutes; it is distant from the mission of Loreto forty leagues by way of the beach; from the mission of Guadalupe eighteen, and from that of San Ignacio

nearly forty. The mission is very poor, because the dam was carried away by the floods in the year 1770, as well as the land which they had for planting, leaving nothing but a stretch of sand. When I was there last August I examined it purposely to see if by rebuilding the dam it could be set going once more, but I found that it lacked land for planting, since there was nothing but sand.

In view of this I went to examine a site named Magdalena, about ten leagues from the mission on the road to San Ignacio. I found that it had a stream with plenty of water, and that by making a dam some good pieces of ground that it has could be irrigated, and in this way the mission could be supported. But it is impossible to do the work on account of the lack of corn, and of ability to buy it. On the contrary, the mission is greatly overdrawn in the warehouse, and is in debt for the little food that they get to keep themselves from perishing. But if some allowance could be obtained to support it during the time the work would last and until the fields are in bearing, which could not be less than a year, because of the small number of its men, the work and the removal of the mission might be undertaken. Although the objection occurs to me that by abandoning the site where it is, the launches that come from and go to the North from this hostelry would be taken away,[61] for they usually stop in the estuary and provide themselves with what is necessary; yet I realize that since the mission

has not enough for itself, it will have even less to give away, while the estuary will always be there as a refuge from storms for the launches.

Besides what I have said above, the Indians, in whom I perceived an inclination to move, informed me that the site of Magdalena is about three leagues from the shore; it also has an estuary, and by cleaning out the mouth the launches could enter; and the people from Mulegé could continue the practice of fishing, in which they are very skillful and of which they are very fond. I am therefore of the opinion that it would be a very good thing to move the mission to that site. For this reason it is necessary to explain this to his Excellency, and to ask him to give some allowance for this work, even though it be from the mission funds, and if not, to decide what is to be done with those Indians, since they cannot be supported in the mission where they are now living. If his Excellency should order them to some other mission, the one that seems to me most suitable for the purpose, on account of having plenty of water and land, is that of Purísima, but I always have the fear that they may sicken and die, as has happened to those who have moved to other missions by order of the visitor.

This mission is not only poor in grain, but also in tame cattle, for it has only nine gentle oxen, two saddle-oxen, seven cows, six bull calves and five heifers; of sheep it has four hundred and forty-seven;[62] of goats six hundred and sixty-four; of

gentle horses fifteen, most of them old and unserviceable; fourteen pack mules and four saddle mules; three brood mares; of mustangs very many, although they cannot be rounded up to be counted; of wild cattle there are even more, which, on account of the lack of horses, cannot be rounded up for killing.

Mission of San Ignacio

This mission, endowed in the year 1725 by Father Juan Luyando, of the Company of Jesus, with ten thousand pesos from his inheritance, had its beginning in January, 1728, its first minister being the same father who endowed it. It remained in charge of the Company until January, 1768. In April of the same year it was received in the name of this College by Father Fray Miguel de la Campa Cos. From that time until August, 1771, one hundred[63] and fifteen children were baptized, and counting young and old, two hundred and ninety-three died, and sixty-eight were married. They all live in the chief town, where they were congregated by order of the visitor, and in the month of August there were one hundred and thirty-six families, making five hundred and fifty-eight souls.

They were very content and happy at the mission, although it was soon found necessary for the father to give them permission to go to look for food in the woods, for on the 14th of August, when I was there, the locusts came; and, as there was no possi-

bility of checking them, though every effort was made, they ate up all the corn fields. For this reason nothing was left at the mission but the necessaries; but they may be able to live on the wheat that they have not harvested. They have a good deal planted, and they write me that it is doing well, and if it is successful they will again assemble at the mission. The mission is in latitude twenty-eight degrees, and is distant from the Great Sea a day and a half of travel, and about the same distance from the Gulf. On the shore of the latter there is a good bay called San Carlos, where the launches that go to and from the North stop.

The mission is distant from that of Mulége forty leagues, from Guadalupe twenty-five, and from Santa Gertrudis, toward the north, thirty-five leagues. It is situated in a pleasant place, on high ground, from which it has a view of a broad valley with its arroyo. This stream carries a good volume of water, which they retain by earth dams. It is conducted to the mission in ditches, being collected in a very large tank of stone and mortar. The mission has plenty of land, although in the year 1770 the flood from the stream stole it all when it carried away the dam, leaving a waste of sand in what had been a cornfield, but still there is enough land left. It has its vineyards, olives, pomegranates, figs, and cotton patch. From the cotton that is harvested they make cloth to assist in clothing themselves, although the locusts of the preceding year,

as I have already said, laid it all waste. They did the same to the vines and fruit trees, wilting everything, though the father writes me that they are leafing out again. The church and the dwelling are of adobe, roofed with tules. The church of stone and mortar, which is half finished, if completed will be the best edifice in California.

Of tame cattle it had thirty-two milch cows, six bulls, two young bulls, twenty-six bull and heifer calves, twenty-one gentle oxen, and a large number of wild cattle; seventy-four brood mares, most of them with colts; twenty-seven horse colts and fillies of various ages; seventeen young unbroken she-mules and he-mules, three jacks for breeding, three stallions, seven breeding jennies with five colts, twenty broken mules, eight herding horses; seven hundred and twenty-two head of sheep, and forty-three goats, although I afterwards received a letter in which I am told that the Indians have persisted in killing the sheep and goats and have made great destruction, without any possibility of restraining them.

Mission of Santa Gertrudis

This mission was founded on the 15th day of July, 1752. In the papers that speak of endowments I have not found any particular one for this mission, but I have found a clause that speaks of it in this manner: "The mission of San José del Cabo was endowed by the Marquis de Villapuente with ten

thousand pesos, and in case this mission does not endure, or that there is need at any time of this succor, another is to be founded in the North of California with the name of Santa Gertrudis la Magna." Upon the departure of the Jesuit fathers it was found that there was no missionary father residing at San José del Cabo, from which it may be inferred that the endowment of San José del Cabo would apply to this of Santa Gertrudis. The latter remained in charge of the Jesuit fathers until the month of January, 1768, and it was received into the care of the College by Father Fray Dionisio Basterra toward the end of April of that year.

From that time until August, 1771, it is found, there were baptized two hundred and fifty-four children; four hundred and three, among children and adults, were buried, and one hundred and two were married. There were found three hundred and fifty-seven families of married people, forty-one widowers and widows, four hundred and thirty-three boys and girls, comprising altogether one thousand one hundred and thirty-eight persons. Of all these families there are living at the missions only forty, with one hundred and seventy-four souls. All the rest are divided among seven villages which surround the mission on all sides, living without houses, following the wild fruits, and moving according to their seasons. It is not possible for them all to live in the chief town because land is scarce and the water insufficient for irrigating; even less has it

been possible to carry out the visitor's order to move the excess to the missions of Purísima and San José, for they resisted and gave it to be understood that they would rather return to the heathen.

The mission is situated in a narrow valley, which made it necessary to level off a space for the town by means of the crow-bar. It has its church and dwelling of adobes, with tule roof. The town is finished, with little houses for the Indians, also of adobes, and is very neat. It has vineyards and fruit trees, figs, olives, pomegranates, and some peaches. There is little land for planting, and the water is scarce, of which Father Fray Dionisio Basterra, who administered it for more than a year, can inform your Reverence. It is in twenty-eight and one-half degrees north latitude, in the place called La Piedad. It is about twelve leagues from the Gulf, where the beach is called San Miguel de la Peña, and where the launches stop; from the Great Sea it is distant about two days' travel; from the mission of San Ignacio thirty-five leagues, and from that of San Borja somewhat more.

It has its ranch for large and small stock, on which there are pastured eighty-six head of cattle with twenty-seven calves, twenty-five gentle mules, thirty-six gentle horses, fifteen colts to be broken, sixty-seven brood mares with twenty-four colts, and with stallions and jacks; one hundred and forty head of sheep, four hundred and seventy head of goats, and two jennies with colts. It has some wild cattle near

the opposite coast, but it is difficult to round them up on account of the lack of water, for these cattle depend on the rainfall which supplies this lack. In the latter part of August the father wrote me that the mission had one hundred and eighty bushels of bearded wheat and twenty of barley, but no corn, for a fine field that they had well along was destroyed by the plague of locusts, which also did a great deal of harm to the fruit trees and vines.

Mission of San Francisco de Borja

This mission was founded on the 27th of August, 1762. In the endowment papers no memorandum is found of this mission, but, through information obtained from some private persons of the Peninsula, I have learned that it was endowed by Don Antonio de Lanza Gorta, citizen of the town of San Miguel el Grande, although others are of the opinion that it must have been endowed from the legacy left by the Duchess of Gandia. It remained in charge of the Jesuit fathers until January, 1768, and entered in May of that year into the care of this College, when it was received by Father Fray Fermín Francisco Lazuén. From that time until August, 1771, four hundred and one were baptized, of whom about twenty-six were adults and the rest children. Between young and old four hundred and ninety-nine died, and two hundred and seventy-three were married, according to what that father tells

me. There is not now in the district of the mission a single adult heathen, so far as is known. In the chief town of the mission there are forty-four families of married people and three widowers, which comprise one hundred and eighty-four souls.

Besides the chief town it has five villages; one named San Juan, with forty-six families, three widowers, and seven widows, making one hundred and sixty-five souls; another named San Francisco Regis, with twenty-three families, five widowers, and nine widows, making ninety-two souls; another named Los Angeles, with thirty-seven families, five widowers and fourteen widows, making one hundred and fifty-five[64] souls; another named Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, with seventy-four families, eighteen widowers, and fourteen widows, making two hundred and fifty-six souls; another named San Ignacio, with seventy-eight families, twenty-three widowers and twenty widows, making three hundred and fifty souls. All together, with those of the chief town, they aggregate one thousand, four hundred and seventy-nine persons.

These villages have no chapels or houses whatever, but move about and live wherever they find wild food; and it is not possible to collect more in the chief town, because of the lack of land and scarcity of water, for even to maintain the few families mentioned it is necessary to plant in two places some distance from the mission named San Regis and Paraíso. In the early part of last Sep-

tember the father wrote me that he had gathered about three hundred bushels of bearded wheat and eighteen of barley, which they had been using since July, but that they did not expect to harvest any corn, although they had a field of it, because the locusts destroyed it.

It has its cattle ranch, and among tame and branded there must be about five hundred head, large and small; it has no wild cattle; of sheep it has one thousand, seven hundred head, and of goats nine hundred and thirty; it has twenty gentle mules and four half broken; mules of one and two years, ten, with nine last year's colts; thirty gentle horses and nine colts, thirty-four of last year's branding; one hundred brood mares, forty-six fillies, one jenny and two jacks for breeding. It has some new vines which the father planted, and some fruit trees, figs and pomegranates, and there are large fields of cotton from which they manufacture cloth to aid in clothing themselves, while from the wool they make blankets.

It is in thirty degrees latitude, twelve leagues from the Great Sea, and ten from the Gulf, on a bay called Los Angeles, where the launch belonging to the mission stops. It is more than thirty-five leagues from the mission of Santa Gertrudis, and about forty from that of Santa María. It has its church and cloister, made of adobes and roofed with tule, newly built by Father Lazuén.

Mission of Santa María de Los Angeles

This mission was founded on October 16, 1766. I have not found its endowment, but the inference is that it must be from the legacy left by the Duchess of Gandia, since part of it was collected by the office of the procurator-general of California, which was lodged in the College of San Andrés in the city of Mexico. According to an unsigned paper they had already collected sixty-two thousand pesos of the legacy which they say she left for the conversion of northern California. This mission remained in the care of the Jesuit fathers until the latter part of December, 1767. In the middle of the next May it was received in the name of this College by Father Fray Juan de Medina Beitía, who found the mission hardly begun, and without even a church. He set to work on this at once, building it of adobes with tule roof. By the side of it he built a dwelling of two rooms, also of adobes and tule, and a small shed in which to keep the tools of the mission.

From the time when it came into the care of the College until September, 1771, one hundred and ninety-nine adults and ninety-one children were baptized, and between old and young one hundred and eight died, while one hundred and twenty were married. In the month of September it had on the register five hundred and twenty-three persons, with one hundred and eighty-six families of married people, all the rest being single men and women,

and girls and boys of various ages. All the others lived in their villages round about the mission, as was said in the preceding chapter, except five families of married people and four single youths who live in the mission.

It is in latitude thirty degrees and twenty minutes; it is about forty leagues from San Borja, eighteen leagues from Vellicatá and some five[65] from the Gulf shore. At that point on the shore is the Bay of San Luís, where the launches which carry the supplies for the frontier stop. It is in a narrow pass between high hills of bare white rock, which have no other trees than some palms in an arroyo with little water.

The spot is very sad and gloomy. It has a small level piece of ground, but it is alkaline, and will permit the sowing of only about a bushel and a half of wheat; and in time of drought there is a scarcity of water to irrigate the land. It lacks pasture. Some trees have been planted but have died. All the surrounding country has been explored, but no place has been found either for crops or for stock. The few cattle that it possesses are pasturing on the ranch of San Borja. There are twelve head of beef cattle, three broken horses, and four mares; but there are no sheep or goats; there are twenty-six broken mules which serve to carry the provisions from the shore to this mission and to Vellicatá.

For the reasons stated above, the missionary father informs me that the site is not suitable for

a mission, and the same report is given by those who went with the first detachment of the expedition to Monterey, Captain Don Fernando de Rivera and those who accompanied him. In view of this unfavorable opinion, the illustrious visitor-general decided that the mission of Santa María should be moved to the place called Vellicatá. The removal was taken in charge by Governor Don Gaspar de Portolá and the reverend father president of all the missions, Fray Junípero Serra, when they went on the expedition to Monterey with the second detachment; but when they arrived at Santa María and examined the place it seemed to them a pity to move the mission, both because of the great distance to San Borja—sixty[66] unpopulated leagues—and because of the distance the mission would be from the coast to receive the corn and other succor for the new missions.

With these good purposes in view, both of them thought that the site was not to be despised, and that with some work the matter of the water might be improved; but they did not understand that in time of drought it runs very low, and that the land, being alkaline, is useless. So they both wrote to the visitor that they believed it to be best to continue the mission in the same site, to which that gentleman agreed. Since then the missionary father has reported to me several times that the mission can never subsist unless they are willing to support it by alms, for the purpose of keeping it near at hand

to receive the provisions for the new missions; although in that case so many families would not be necessary, for a small number would be sufficient. When your Reverence is informed upon this point you will advise me what I ought to do.

Reverend Father Guardian, this is the state of these thirteen towns which we received when we reached this Peninsula, besides those which were extinguished by the visitor-general, named Dolores, or La Pasión, and San Luís Gonzaga. By this report your Reverence will see that all thirteen contain only 5,094 Indians, counting even infants at the breast, although, when we received California, according to the registers made at that time, there were more than 7,149. It is evident, then, that the number has decreased by 2,055, through the epidemics that have occurred in the three years and four months, and if it goes on at this rate in a short time Old California will come to an end.

In respect to the care of their spiritual and temporal affairs, the missionary fathers have endeavored to advance them as far as has been possible, although the storms and the plague of the locusts have served to retard them. The fathers have tried to continue the education and instruction that the Jesuit fathers practiced, as well as to feed and clothe them according to the capacity of each mission; and there are not lacking those who say that they have never been so well fed and clothed as at this time, but we cannot speak for the past; what can be said is that the Indians are contented.

In view of the undertaking that we have in hand, I can do no less than make known to you how many missionaries will be needed. They are as follows: twenty-six for the thirteen towns named; two for the new mission of Vellicatá; ten for the five missions which are to be placed in the country between Vellicatá and San Diego;[67] and sixteen for the eight between San Diego and the port of Our Father San Francisco, making altogether fifty-four missionaries. It will be necessary to have some supernumeraries, in case of the misfortune of death or sickness, as the College is far away for recourse. Seeing that the number of missionaries is so large, I realize that it is a heavy charge for one College alone. For this reason it would be best to take steps to learn whether missionaries can come from some province of our order or of some other order, to take charge of those missions that are farthest from the frontier of the heathen. It was for this purpose that Father Fray Juan Ramos made his journey.

I hope that your Reverence will promote this plan, and in order to facilitate it you may make known not only how many missionaries are necessary, but also the great harvest which the College has awaiting it in the heathendom of Monterey; while from San Borja to Cape San Lucas there is not a town in which the Faith can be newly propagated, which is the purpose of our institute, for here it can only be preserved; and that these towns are not and never will be fit to be delivered to the bishop,

for the land is so poor that it does not yield enough to enable the natives to support a curate. Consequently, I believe it is best to make every effort to give up these missions, and in case the resignation is not accepted, at least to make it evident for the future that we are stating beforehand[68] that they will never be fit to pass over to the bishop, so that it may not be said that the missions have been ruined by the missionaries of this apostolic College.

CHAPTER XXVIII

CONTINUATION OF THE REPORT TO THE REVEREND FATHER GUARDIAN

With what has been said up to here I believe you will be sufficiently informed of the state of the old missions of this Peninsula which were founded by the reverend fathers of the Company of Jesus. I will now give you an account of the new one that has been founded by this College in the place named Vellicatá, on the road to the port of San Diego.

Mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá

This mission was founded by order of the visitor-general, Don José de Gálvez, by the reverend father preacher and president of all the missions, Fray Junípero Serra, on the occasion when he went with the second detachment of the land expedition to the port of San Diego, in company with the governor and commander of the expedition, Don Gaspar de Portolá. For this mission he took as minister and missionary the father preacher Fray Miguel de la Campa Cos, whom he relieved for this purpose from the mission of San Ignacio. When they reached the site called by the natives Olibicata, as it seemed to

them suitable for a mission in case it was decided to change the site of Santa María, they set to work at it, celebrating its first Mass on May 15, 1769, which was the second day of the Feast of Espíritu Santo. Since this was the first mission to the vast body of heathen in the northern part of this Peninsula, they unanimously agreed to dedicate it as first fruits to the holy patron of this apostolic College, San Fernando, king of Spain.

It is founded in a valley through whose center runs a stream of some volume, sufficient to water the land of its meadows, and by means of a dam of earth and stone which they built in the stream it was easy to retain the water. The father at once set about cultivating the land, so that by having something for the heathen to eat they might be won for God. From its founding until September of last year, 1771, three hundred and eighty were baptized, that is, three hundred and six adults and seventy-four children. Of these twelve died and eighty-six were married. Not all of them can live in the mission because as yet not enough land is under cultivation to support them all. For that reason only twelve families are living permanently there, while the rest will remain in their villages until there is food to give them. Yet, every week one village stays to pray in order not to forget the catechism. Besides this exercise there is for each village a captain, the most intelligent among them, who takes care to assemble them every day; and

there is a catechist who recites the doctrine with them; and when they come to the mission they report if there has been any fault or misbehavior.

It has been found that the land is very alkaline, for which reason corn and wheat do not yield very well. As a rule much of it is lost. Last year eight bushels of wheat were planted and only two hundred were harvested. Efforts have been made to plant fruit trees, cotton, and vines, but nothing has come of this, because the alkali dries up the plants.

The mission is in latitude thirty degrees and thirty-six minutes, and is eighteen leagues from that of Santa María; from the bay of San Luís and the shore of the Gulf it is twenty-three, and from the shore of the Great Sea about fourteen. From the port of San Diego, by the old road, over which the expedition traveled, it is one hundred and nineteen leagues; and by the one that has been recently explored, about one hundred.

It already has its stock of cattle which were left for it from those that were taken from San Borja for the expedition, and they have increased to such an extent that they have now forty-nine head, all tame; of sheep forty head, and of goats forty-four; nine fillies and one young stallion, with two unbroken colts. It lacks mules and horses. Vestments have not come for this mission, and it only has those that the visitor ordered taken from the old missions, which, except one, are badly worn. It has no bell, but is using one lent by the mission of Santa María.

Ruins of Mission San Fernando de Vellicatá.

Photograph by Hendry, 1926.

I will therefore esteem it greatly if you will put the matter before the visitor-general or his Excellency, explaining to him at the same time that the one thousand pesos for the founding of this mission have not been given to it, as was agreed with the visitor, and for that reason the mission is lacking utensils and tools for house and field. If this endowment is obtained, everything that your Reverence may judge necessary can come with the first supplies. And do not fail to send for the church and sacristy what is stated in the memorandum which I have already sent.

This mission, since it is surrounded on all sides by heathen, needs a large escort, but on account of the lack of soldiers it is rarely complete. For this reason the missionary fathers cannot go out of the village to look for and bring in the heathen to the mission. It is therefore necessary for your Reverence to speak of this to his Excellency, adding that on account of this lack we cannot set to work to found even one of the five missions which his Excellency has charged me to found, although the missionaries assigned to them are here in the old missions without occupation. I have already asked the governor in writing for the guard, but he replied, and it is the truth, that he had no soldiers, and that he had already reported it to his Excellency. I am informed that because of this same lack at Monterey they cannot proceed to found the missions that his Excellency has ordered.

Your Reverence may state with all certainty that for all the missions, old and new, two companies of a hundred men each are necessary, with their appropriate officers, one company to serve as escort from Cape San Lucas as far as San Diego, exclusive; and the other from the last-named, inclusive, as far as the port of Our Father San Francisco. This is not a large allowance, for the distance is about seven hundred leagues, and from Vellicatá to the other end it is thickly populated with heathen, with the added circumstance that those between Vellicatá and San Diego are very rebellious and quarrelsome. If only a small number of soldiers go the natives may venture another outbreak such as those of San Diego made, of which Father Fray Juan Vizcaíno, who came from there wounded, could give an account. And as to the missions of Monterey, it should be borne in mind what a multitude there are on the channel of Santa Bárbara, as is stated in the Diary.*

It is necessary that the pay of these soldiers be increased, for the decrease made was great. From four hundred and twenty pesos a year, which they had before, they have been cut to five reals a day, and those in the new missions to six, which is not enough for them; for from this sum they have to feed and clothe themselves, pay for arms, powder and ball, and keep at least three mules and one horse. These, too, they have to buy with their wages, which are not enough for it; and if they are married, as they usually are, they have nothing with which to

* He refers to Father Crespi's diary, which is printed in Volume II.

support their families, and so they are always in debt to the royal warehouse, which is not to be wondered at, considering the high prices of the goods and other things that they need.

When this governor came he brought for the expenses twenty-two thousand pesos in money; from this he left for the branch of mining at the camp of Santa Ana about eight or ten thousand; from the other half of it he paid the salary of the governor at four thousand pesos. They soon found themselves without money, and therefore there is nothing with which to pay the soldiers what is due them, for they are usually single men who have been on the expeditions, and on account of having been outside and not having spent anything on food, as it is given to them on account of the expedition, they have a balance coming to them, but they cannot get it even though they come to this camp. In view of this and of the privations they suffer, and of the distressing stories told by those who come from Monterey about the hardship of eating bad food for lack of provisions, it is surprising that any one can be found willing to be a soldier, whereas formerly it was necessary to use testimonials or influence to obtain such a place.

In regard to the fifth point concerning which you ask me for a report, whether the last decrees issued by Governor Armona for the good of the Indians are put in practice, I must say that not even his name can be mentioned before this Governor

Barry, for he says that Armona came to ruin the Peninsula. In presence of Father Fray Juan Escudero, who already may have told your Reverence, he told me that he did not wish harmony with me, lest he be ruined as Señor Armona was ruined. Therefore, if a report of those decrees is not drawn up for his Excellency, there is no hope that they will be put into effect, for I do not speak because I consider it time lost and for fear that I may increase ill-feeling.

In regard to the sixth point, the diving, I will say that I know[69] that the Indians in California are not obliged to dive in any part of the Peninsula. The only Indians who practice diving are those of Loreto and Mulegé, and of these only those go who wish to. They ask permission of the father, do their work, and if they catch anything they sell it and get the benefit of it. In regard to the Yaqui Indians, of the opposite provinces, who are in the habit of going out with launches to dive, I cannot say whether they are compelled to do it or not. In the past year of 1771 two launches came with fifty divers, who went to the bay of Mulegé. It was said that they came to dive in the employ of the King, and there was talk in this camp that the divers were about to mutiny; but the reason given was not that they were made to dive in dangerous spots, but because the pay was small, and because they did not wish to give the divers the Sunday catch, as had been the custom. In respect to all the rest of the points, I

believe that with what I have already said your Reverence will be sufficiently informed.

Concerning the last point, that I shall report to you everything that I may think conducive to the spiritual and temporal advancement of the missions, there is much to say, besides what I have told your Reverence in this report; but as I have already sent a written account of the most important things by Father Ramos, I shall not repeat it here. But I cannot do less than repeat my request that you endeavor to induce his Excellency to restrain the governor from meddling in what does not concern him, and to allow us to civilize, educate, and correct these poor neophytes, for otherwise the Peninsula will be certain to rise up, and it will not be possible afterwards to repair the damage.

Moreover, I can do no less, in view of the great poverty of the Indians of these missions, than to point out to you that it would be a good thing to give from the funds of these missions an annual allowance of clothing, so that they may cover their nakedness, for here they lack resources. Most of the missions will never have enough to afford these things, and it is a source of great sorrow to the missionaries to see them naked and not have a rag to give them. For this petition you can make known not only the need, which is real, and is evident to everybody, especially to those who have seen this land, but also that without spending a cent from the royal funds his Excellency can bestow this benefit

upon these poor creatures, for there is adequate means for it in the property belonging to these missions. I obtained an unsigned document which gives a memorandum of these properties, and, for whatever aid it may be in securing this object I take the trouble to copy it and enclose it in this report, so that your Reverence may make yourself acquainted with it. I do not know for certain where this document came from, but I judge, with some foundation, that it came from those who were commissioners of the College of San Andrés in that city at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuit fathers; for, as the office of the procurator-general of California was there, the papers containing information about everything would naturally be there.

Pious Funds Given by Several Persons for the Spiritual Conquest of California

1698. Don Juan Cavallero founded the first mission; he gave for it the sum of	₱10,000.00
1699. The same person endowed the second	10,000.00
1700. Don Nicolás Arteaga endowed the third with the same sum	10,000.00
1702. Several persons, by the hand of the father José Vidal, Jesuit, endowed the fourth	10,000.00
1704. The Marquis de Villapuente endowed the fifth with the sum of	10,000.00

1709. The same person endowed the sixth with	₱10,000.00
1713. The same person endowed the seventh	10,000.00
1718. His Excellency Don Juan Ruíz de Velasco endowed the eighth with the sum of	10,000.00
1719.[70] The Marquis de Villapuente endowed the ninth with	10,000.00
1725. Father Juan María Luyando, Jesuit, endowed the tenth with	10,000.00
1731. Doña María Rosa de la Peña endowed one of those founded by the Marquis de Villapuente with	10,000.00
1746. The Marquis de Villapuente endowed the eleventh with	10,000.00
1747. The Most Excellent Señora Doña María de Borja, Duchess of Gandia, made the missions of the Californias her heirs in her will, but it appears that they have received only	62,000.00
Total of gifts	₱179,000.00

Property on Hand at the Time of the Expulsion of the Jesuit Fathers

In money found in the office of the procurator-general of California at the time of the expulsion	₱92,000.00

Goods found in the warehouse of the procurator's office, valued by merchants of Spain and Mexico at	₱27,255.06
Goods found in the warehouse of Loreto, according to the prices at which they charged and sold them	79,377.01

Loans Made by the Office of the Procurator-General of California from the Funds of these Missions, as Appears from their Respective Papers.

To the College of San Ildefonso in Puebla, at three and a half per cent	₱22,000.00
To the College of San Ignacio in Puebla, with interest at four per cent	5,000.00
To the College of San Pedro y San Pablo in Mexico, without statement of interest	29,000.00
To the College of San Ildefonso in Puebla, at three per cent	23,000.00
To the College of San Gerónimo in Mexico, at three per cent	38,500.00
To the College of San Ildefonso in Puebla, at three per cent	9,000.00
Total of loans	₱126,600.00

General Resumé

Total of gifts	₱179,000.00
Total of properties	199,033.01
Total of loans	126,600.00
Grand total	₱504,633.01

Besides these sums there are the Ibarra estates, whose administrator has reported that in ordinary years they produce an income of 20,000 pesos free of all expenses, to which sum should be added the products of the estates of Arroyo Sarco. (The document ends here.)

In regard to this document I have to remark that the estates spoken of at the end, those of Ibarra and Arroyo Sarco, were bought with the gifts of the benefactors, in order to avoid what was experienced in the beginning, that is, that by loaning ten thousand pesos to a private person, on condition that he pay a yearly interest of five hundred, for the salary of the missionary father, it generally resulted that this person became bankrupt and the principal was lost, and it was found necessary to look for another benefactor or give up the mission, as is related in the history by Father Venegas. In order never to fall into this difficulty, they decided to purchase these estates, administer them, pay the annual stipends from the income, and keep the balance, so that it might increase and provide means to send more things to the poor missions, as from the books of the missions it appears that they did. From what has been said I infer that there existed, at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuit fathers, only the estates named, with the money and goods on hand, and the loans, which total three hundred and twenty-five thousand, six hundred and thirty-three pesos and one real. From these large sums, as well as from the income from those estates,

see if there cannot be made annually some allowance of clothing for these poor Indians. And I do not say merely for those already converted, but also for those who are to be reduced in northern California, as far as Monterey, for by this means they will be attracted to our Holy Catholic Faith, which was the purpose of the benefactors.

I hope your Reverence will use all the means possible to obtain this, and everything else that may conduce to the spiritual and temporal advancement of these old missions as well as the new, and you will receive your reward from God. I ask for this in my humble prayers, and in the holy sacrifice of the Mass, and I pray that He may preserve your life for many years in good health and in His holy grace. From this mission of your Reverence, Nuestra Señora de Loreto in California, February 12, 1772.

My Reverend Father Guardian, your humble subject and servant kisses the hand of your Reverence.

Fray Francisco Palóu.

I immediately despatched this report to the College by a launch that was going to Santa Cruz, and the duplicate I sent afterwards by way of San Blas. But long before it came to the hands of the reverend father guardian, Father Fray Ramos de Lora had reached the College, and on his arrival it was urged and brought about that the reverend Dominican fathers should accept all these old missions, as I shall relate in the following chapters.

CHAPTER XXIX

REQUEST OF THE REVEREND DOMINICAN FATHERS FOR THE MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA

It has already been said in the first chapter that without my apostolic College having made the least effort to enter California, it was urged by the most excellent viceroy and the most illustrious visitor-general to take over the administration of those missions, and it consented, notwithstanding the small number of friars that it had for the service of God and our King. Being in tranquil possession of those missions, all busy, each in the mission that had been assigned to him, well content, and not discouraged by the poverty of the land or its sterility, but rather the contrary, they were all at work with great zeal, in spiritual as well as in temporal affairs, so that even though they could not advance the missions they would at least not deteriorate. But at the very same time the reverend Dominican fathers were anxiously endeavoring to enter California, doubtless so that both Orders, as brothers, and being so united, might express in it their apostolic fervors, and both, with a holy

emulation, might advance the Holy Gospel and the Catholic Faith in the Peninsula.[71]

With this object in view, the reverend father Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte presented himself in the name of his province of Mexico, of which he was procurator, at the court of Madrid, and asked his Majesty for some of the missions of California for his province. He explained the reasons, which no doubt are stated in his memorials, and his Majesty consented that some missions should be granted to them, or that the Peninsula should be divided between the two Orders, issuing his royal decree on November 4, 1768. In consequence of it, the reverend father, commissioned by the very reverend father president and vicar-general of the missions, recruited some friars for those missions and sent them ahead, while he remained at the Court.

When they arrived in Mexico and presented themselves to his Excellency the Marquis de Croix, viceroy of New Spain, he made some objection, in view of the reports that he had from the Peninsula that it was not divisible without mixing one order with the other. Nevertheless, he did not wish to decide nor to report to the Court until he had more exact information from the most illustrious visitor-general, who, since he had just made a visit to the Peninsula, could inform him about it with complete detail, and whether or not there was room for both Orders.

With this object his Excellency wrote on the 8th of April, 1769, and as will be seen in the following chapter, the visitor-general made reply, of which he sent a copy from the camp of Los Alamos.

Report of the Visitor-General

Most Excellent Sir:

In a letter of the 8th of last April your Excellency sends me a copy of a royal decree issued on the 4th of November of the preceding year in which his Majesty commands your Excellency to report to him as clearly and briefly as possible concerning the state of the missions of California after they were entrusted, because of the expatriation of the Jesuits, to the apostolic missionaries *de propaganda fide* of the College of San Fernando of that capital.

This measure arose from the petition made in the Supreme Council of the Indies by the Dominican friar, Juan Pedro de Iriarte, in regard to which your Excellency desires that I shall express my opinion, in order that you may form your report with positive knowledge of some facts that I have just examined in person. I must observe in the beginning that the zeal of the friar named, Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, is as laudable as the errors upon which he founded his request must be unintentional. He states that on the coast of the South Sea, which is the west coast of California, there are, between twenty-five

degrees and forty-two degrees, and in the interior of the country north of twenty-eight degrees, places inhabited by multitudes of heathen, although in fact there is not even one such place descending from latitude thirty-one as far as Cape San Lucas, either on the mainland of the Peninsula or on the many islands adjacent to its two coasts. This is a fact that your Excellency can set down in your report as indubitable and well known, without other qualification than to note that at the mission of San Ignacio, situated in twenty-eight degrees, according to the observations of the expelled regulars, there are living and in reduction the last surviving inhabitants of the island of Cedros, which is in the South Sea in the same latitude.*

After the establishment of the mission of San Ignacio, which Father Iriarte supposed to be the last founded in California, the three of Santa Gertrudis, San Francisco de Borja and Santa María were begun, and this not so recently but that there has been knowledge of them in Spain now for six years. As Santa María was situated on the frontier in thirty-one degrees, and the Jesuits had erected it in a country so sterile that they could not assemble or support the reduced Indians, I took steps to ask the president of the missions to remove it to the site of Vellicatá, which is situated at about thirty-two degrees, as your Excellency must have seen in

* Cedros Island is considerably farther north than Mission San Ignacio.

the last chapter of the instructions given by Governor Don Gaspar de Portolá, who went in the last division of the entrance and expedition by land.

This expedition, which your Excellency has approved of, and the one which you ordered me to make by sea, are directed to the important end, if God wills that they shall succeed, of establishing immediately six missions on the west coast of California, from Vellicatá to the famous port of Monterey, and also of placing there a presidio which will protect the Peninsula from the danger with which it has always been threatened by the insidious attempts of some foreign nations, and especially those recently made by the Russians, on the pretense of familiarizing themselves with the Sea of Tartary.

Your Excellency knows better than any one else with how much foundation and timeliness it was expressed in the royal decree that has been issued, that it is of the highest importance to prevent any other power from setting foot in California; and that the spiritual and temporal conquest of that extensive province always merited the greatest care and attention of our kings and the Supreme Council of the Indies; for not only in this century, but also in the two previous centuries consultations were held and the most vigorous and well-planned measures were taken to occupy the admirable and advantageous port of Monterey; but until now they have remained without effect, on account of the ill-

fortune experienced in America by the true interests of the crown and the nation.

In order to inform your Excellency, since you were pleased to request of me the opinion which I hold of the petition introduced in the Court by the father mentioned, Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, whether it would be better or not for his Majesty to permit him to come to California as missionary extraordinary, let me say that I believe that at present his zeal is not needed, for the missionaries of San Fernando have all that can be desired for the conversion to make rapid progress in that Peninsula. And, besides, they have already been authorized to bring from Spain the mission of forty-five priests, some of whom I hope have already come in the ships of the present fleet, so that two ministers may be placed in each of those reductions, and especially in the new ones which they have gone to establish with the aid of the expeditions by sea and land. Yet, if Father Iriarte, not alone, but accompanied by other apostolic workers, should come under orders from his Majesty to employ himself in the holy work of converting heathen, there are in all these frontiers very numerous nations of them, among whom many ministers might occupy themselves usefully.

With this reply I believe I have satisfied the order of your Excellency, if not with the attention that the matter merits and that I would like to give it, at least with that which is permitted by the

serious occupations given me at present by the military expedition, and other important affairs of these provinces which admit little or no delay.

May our Lord spare your Excellency for many years, etc. Camp of Los Alamos, June 10, 1769. Most excellent Sir, I kiss the hands of your Excellency.

José de Gálvez.

To the Most Excellent Marquis de Croix.

With this report his Excellency the Viceroy formed his own, which he sent to the Court, but notwithstanding that it was hostile to the petition of the reverend Dominican fathers, the Reverend Father Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte obtained a new decree permitting him to enter with other friars of his sacred Order into California, as will be related in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXX

THE REVEREND DOMINICAN FATHERS OBTAIN A NEW ORDER FROM HIS MAJESTY TO ENTER CALIFORNIA, AND WHAT IS DECIDED IN REGARD TO IT

Notwithstanding that his Excellency the Viceroy, the Marquis de Croix, together with the illustrious visitor-general, Don José de Gálvez, had reported that there was no need in California for the reverend Dominican fathers, and that it was not best, because the Peninsula was not divisible, the reverend father Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte insisted upon the claim, contending that it was not right that one Order alone, and much less a single monastery or college, should occupy a peninsula as large as that of California; and he obtained from his Majesty a new decree dated April 8, 1770, commanding that, notwithstanding the contrary orders of his Excellency the Marquis de Croix and the visitor-general, missions in California should be given to the Dominican fathers, without prejudice to the fathers of San Fernando, because it was not conducive to his royal service that a single Order,

and much less one monastery or college, should occupy a peninsula as large as that of California.

In consequence of this new decree which he obtained from his Majesty, the Reverend Father Iriarte collected from the provinces of Spain a larger number of friars of his sacred Order of Preachers and sailed with them for New Spain, landing in the port of Vera Cruz on the 19th of August, 1771, just when the friars of my College, who came by order of the viceroy to complete the number of missionaries that were lacking in the Peninsula, were in Sonora, as I said in the appropriate chapter.

The Reverend Father Iriarte presented the royal decree to his Excellency Señor Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua, viceroy of this New Spain, and, in view of it and of the fact that the reverend father guardian of my College had previously asked permission to give up some of the old missions, for the reasons that new ones were being founded and such a large field of heathen had been opened at San Diego and Monterey and the College could not take care of so many, as I have stated in the chapter pertaining to that subject, his Excellency held a council of war and royal exchequer on the same day, the 21st of March, 1772, in which is was decided that the reverend fathers, the guardian of San Fernando and the vicar-general of the Dominicans, should come to an agreement and arrange

between themselves the division of the missions, according to the decree of his Majesty cited. They agreed to what will be seen in the concordat, and it was approved by the royal council and his Excellency the Viceroy. The father guardian sent me a copy of it, of which I make the following copy:

Concordat

Most Excellent Sir:

Fray Rafael Verger, present guardian of the College *de propaganda fide* of San Fernando in Mexico, and Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, minister of the Holy Order of Preachers and commissary of the mission which, by order of his Majesty (God save him) he conducted to this kingdom for the Peninsula of California, in obedience to the superior decree of your Excellency of the 1st of April of the present year of 1772, in which you order them to divide between themselves, and for their respective missionaries, the missions of the Peninsula of California, in accordance with the royal decree done at Madrid on April 8, 1770, desire to say: that they have come to the conclusion, after repeated conferences upon the subject, that it is the earnest will of our sovereign and Catholic monarch that the Dominican fathers shall enter the said Peninsula of California, with their commissary, the abovementioned master Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, since

he so commanded in his royal decree of November 4, 1768, and lately in the one mentioned of April 8, 1770, in which, after having ordered and commanded the division spoken of, he concludes by repeating the same order. This he does notwithstanding the adverse reports of his Excellency the Marquis de Croix, predecessor of your Excellency, and of the visitor-general, Don José de Gálvez, for he thinks it not best for his royal service that one Order, and much less one monastery or college, should occupy a peninsula so extensive as the one under discussion.[72]

At the same time it is taken into consideration that this one college has to-day in its charge not only the entire Peninsula, but also all the country that has been discovered from the port of San Diego to that of San Francisco, making about two hundred leagues of *terra firma*. And it is also borne in mind that this division ought to be, according to the royal decree, with distinct frontiers for each Order, and with such separateness and difference of field that they shall not encroach upon each other, in order to avoid in this way dissensions that might arise from the opposite arrangement. It is likewise considered that the main body of the Peninsula, on account of the nature of its territory, does not permit a variety of fields, for, indeed, it has only one frontier, that of San Fernando Vellicatá, since the place called San Juan de Diós, which was thought to be suitable for another frontier, is not (according to Captain Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, who has examined

it all repeatedly) sufficient for even a ranch, in which several fathers of this College agree. We explain this to your Excellency with all humility, so that you may not uselessly spend time and the funds of the pious donations.

In view of all the aforesaid, and desiring to faithfully carry out the sovereign will of our Catholic monarch, we have agreed upon the following division: The Dominican fathers shall take in their charge the old missions which this College has in California and the above-mentioned frontier of San Fernando Vellicatá, extending their new conversions in this direction until they reach the confines of the mission of San Diego on the harbor of that name; and, placing their last mission on the arroyo of San Juan Bautista, this mission shall terminate five leagues farther on, at a point which projects from the Sierra Madre and ends before reaching the beach. Once arrived there, they can turn to the east, slightly to the northeast, and in this way they ought to come out at the head of the Gulf of California and the Colorado River, following afterwards the direction pointed out to them by your Excellency in the royal council. And if in the country between the Colorado and San Diego a suitable road to the north or northeast should appear, they can also take it without prejudice to the other Order. It is agreed that the fathers of the College of San Fernando shall retain the missions that they now have, from the port of San Diego, following the

road which they have opened to Monterey, the port of San Francisco, and farther on.

In this way, most Excellent Sir, it will be arranged so that the long coast of Southern California and the *terra firma* that follows it shall not be in charge of one Order alone, which appears to be the principal purpose of our sovereign, and at the same time that the two Orders of Dominican and Franciscan fathers shall have in it their separate spheres. We do not hold it improper that the College of San Fernando shall resign these missions, for by no other way can the principal end of his Majesty be fulfilled. For this reason the father guardian gives them up, hoping that with the vigorous measures which your Excellency has taken, the new conversions from the port of San Diego to Monterey may succeed, and that you will also take care that a sufficient number of cattle and sheep for a start shall be sent to each of the new missions, as I* beg your Excellency in the memorial which I presented on October 26, 1771.

Since this conquest is of such great importance and consequence as his Majesty states in the royal decree cited, he will not lift his powerful hand without bringing it to a perfect conclusion, even in case (which God forbid) that some misfortune has happened in the port of San Diego, or in one of the other missions. For the reasons expressed they humbly beg your Excellency to give your appro-

* Father Verger speaks here. See *post*, p. 251.

bation to the agreement, and that you will at the same time order that it be duly put into effect, giving to each one a certified copy, with the decision of your Excellency, by which they will be favored.

Mexico, April 7, 1772.

Fray Rafael Verger,
Guardian,
Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte,
Vicar-General.

Decree

Mexico, April 24, 1772. Let this be sent to the office of my superior government in charge of Don José Gorráez, so that, joined to those preceding, he may place it before the council ordered to convene on Thursday, the 30th of the current month.

Bucareli.

Council

In the Council of War and Royal Exchequer held on the 21st of March of the current year, for the division of the missions now administered in Old California by the reverend apostolic fathers *de propaganda fide* of the College of San Fernando of this Court, and which his Majesty, in the royal decree of April 8, 1770, ordered divided between the reverend Dominicans and the Franciscan fathers of that College, it was agreed by the gentlemen who composed it, that the Franciscan fathers should administer the active mission of California, at the

place named Vellicatá, and that the Dominicans should establish and settle themselves at the site called San Juan de Diós, on the same frontier but more to the east, in the direction of the Colorado River. It was also agreed that for the success of this plan the reverend fathers, the guardian of the College of San Fernando and the vicar-general, Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, of the Order of Santo Domingo, should come to an agreement between themselves, in accordance with the cited royal decree of April 8, which measure was communicated to them. In obedience to this order they came to an agreement on the 7th of the current month, explaining in it the fields which each of those Orders should take in the division.

In view of this his Excellency the Viceroy, Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua Henestrosa Lazo de la Vega Villacis y Córdova, knight commander of the Bóveda de Toro in the Order of San Juan, lieutenant-general of the royal armies of his Majesty, viceroy, governor, and captain-general of this New Spain, president of his royal audiencia, superintendent-general of the royal exchequer and of the department of tobacco, judge-conservator of the latter, president of his council, and subdelegate-general of the new establishment of packet-boats of this kingdom, etc., resolved and commanded in his superior decree of the 24th of the same month that the agreement mentioned should be presented to the council which his Excellency had already

convoked and assembled today to consider another matter.

It was attended by the gentlemen Don Domingo Valcárcel y Fonseca and Don José Rodríguez del Toro of the Order of Calatrava, of the Council of his Majesty, both judges in his royal audiencia, the first a deacon in it, with privileges in the royal and supreme Council of the Indies, and auditor-general of war, the second, a sub-deacon, and judge conservator of the property and rents of this most noble city, with the exclusive privilege of the royal drainage canal of Juejuetoca; Señor Don José Antonio de Areche of the same council and fiscal in the same royal audiencia; Señor Don Crisóstomo Barrueta, of the Council of his Majesty in the exchequer, and Señor Don Santiago Abad, the former regent and the latter accountant of the head table of the tribunal and royal audiencia of accounts; Don Pedro Toral Valdés, auditor; Don Juan Antonio Gutiérrez de Herrera, factor, inspector, and purveyor, and Don Fernando Mecía, treasurer, both officials of the royal exchequer and treasury of this Court; Don Fernando Mangino, auditor-general of royal tributes, and Don Juan Antonio Arce y Arroyo, who is also auditor-general of the royal excises of this kingdom.

In the council a statement was made of the above-mentioned agreement, in which the reverend fathers, the guardian and the vicar-general, say that they came to the conclusion, after repeated conferences

in regard to the division, that it was the will of his Majesty that the reverend Dominican fathers, with their commissary, Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, should enter the Peninsula of California, according to his royal decrees of November 4, 1768, and April 8, 1770, in which he held that it was not right that a single Order, and much less a single monastery or college, should occupy the extensive Peninsula.

The fathers bear in mind that the friars of San Fernando de Mexico have to-day in their charge, besides what is comprised in the Peninsula, all the country discovered from the port of San Diego to that of San Francisco, which comprises two hundred leagues of *terra firma.* They also take into consideration the fact that the division in question ought to be, in conformity with the royal will, with separate frontiers, and with such a distinctness of spheres and such mutual independence that the two Orders shall not interfere with each other, thus to avert any dissensions that might arise between the two. They consider, also, that the whole of California does not permit, on account of the nature of its territory, any variety in the fields, for it has only the frontier of San Fernando Vellicatá, since the place of San Juan de Diós, which was thought to be suitable, is not fit even for the establishment of a ranch.

It was therefore agreed by these fathers, the guardian of the College *de propaganda fide,* and the vicar-general, Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, that the

Dominican friars should take under their charge the old missions of California, which are at present administered by the missionaries *de propaganda fide,* and the frontier of San Fernando Vellicatá, continuing their new conversions in this direction until they reach the confines of the mission of San Diego, on that port, placing their last one on the Arroyo of San Juan Bautista, limiting it five leagues farther on at a point which juts out from the Sierra Madre and terminates before reaching the beach. Once arrived there they can turn to the east, with a slight inclination to the northeast. In this way they will come out at the head of the Gulf of California and the Colorado River, following afterwards the direction designated for them by his Excellency in his royal council; and if in the country between the Colorado River and San Diego they find a suitable opening to the north or northeast, they may also take it without prejudice to the other order. It was also agreed that the fathers of the College of San Fernando, whose guardian retires voluntarily from the missions of Old California, shall retain those which they now occupy beginning with the port of San Diego, continuing to Monterey, the port of San Francisco, and beyond as far as they can extend their spiritual conquests.

The agreement having been examined in the council, the arguments advanced by the reverend fathers for the change spoken of were held to be sufficient. Besides the reasons given, it must also

be reflected that on account of the narrowness of the neck that joins the Peninsula to the continent, and also because all the missions are stretched out south of that neck, on the same line from north to south, it is impossible to make a division, or to secure the independence which the reverend fathers desire, and which the royal decree provides for, in order to obviate difficulties that might result. To this is added the consideration that in California there is no other highway by which it can be traversed but that of the old missions, and this opened by hand; by which one is convinced of the insuperable difficulty of dividing it in any other manner than that proposed, and which was approved by the gentlemen composing the royal council.

They agreed unanimously to its consequences, for the reasons justly alleged by the reverend father Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, who claimed the new regulation of stipends that is practiced with the friars *de propaganda fide* in that Peninsula, and to the opinions given by the fiscal in two files of papers, which they also had before them, that the stipends of the reverend Dominican fathers should be paid from the pious funds destined for the propagation of the faith in that Peninsula, assigning to them for the present until there is better knowledge through the reports which their vicar-general ought to send, and until something else is resolved upon, three hundred and fifty pesos annually to each missionary, advancing them one year's salary, which

ought to be counted from the day when they receive the missions.

They will appropriate this upon the certification of the royal commissary signed by the vicar-general named. And the reverend fathers of the College *de propaganda fide* shall take a receipt for all that they may deliver from each mission by regular inventory. After the receipts are signed by both presidents, they are to send them to the superior government of his Excellency, the Viceroy of this kingdom, accompanying them with documents which state the number of souls in each of the missions, as well as the property in them, and observing annually this same method and formality for both Orders, so that his Excellency may have exact information of the progress made by each in the spiritual conquest.

The daily expenses or viatica with which the Dominican missionaries are to be assisted from the 19th of August of last year, when they landed in the port of Vera Cruz, shall be the same as those which, according to custom, are paid from the funds of the royal exchequer in this chief treasury, but shall be paid from the pious funds of California, which ought to bear likewise the expenses of the transportation of the baggage and other things that the missionaries named may carry to the Peninsula. They shall be assisted appropriately, for the new missions that they may establish, with a thousand pesos for each one, also from the same pious funds,

since these must be spent strictly for the admirable purposes of the instructions set forth in the wills of the founders. They shall also be given the vestments and sacred vessels that may be necessary.

For all of this let there be sent, in accordance with this decision, the corresponding decree of his Excellency to the director-general charged with the affairs touching upon this pious work, and the appropriate orders to the governor of California, to the effect that he shall aid in the delivery of those missions, giving to both prelates the certified copies which they may ask for their information. And, finally, let this certified copy be drawn up, so that, as was resolved in the previous council of the 21st of March, it may be directed officially to the most illustrious Bishop of Guadalaxara, for the purpose of taking measures, with his approval, to carry out what is ordered in the cited royal decree of April 8, 1770. Let all the documents treating of this matter be joined together, so that, by taking complete copies of the file, account may be given to his Majesty.

All of the above was thus agreed to in the council, and was signed by his Excellency and the gentlemen who composed it.

Mexico, April 30, 1772.

Bucareli — Valcárcel — Toro
Areche — Barrueta — Abad
Gutiérrez — María — Mangino
Arce — José de Gorráez

DECREE

Mexico, May 12, 1772. Let the decision of the royal council mentioned be put into execution, and after the certified copies ordered have been drawn up let them be delivered to the corresponding reverend fathers, and let the others be placed with the file in my secretarial office, for the the purpose of taking the remaining measures.—BUCARELI.

This agrees with the original, which I returned to the secretarial office of his Excellency, the Viceroy of this kingdom, Don Antonio María, and to which I refer. And in order that it may be made known to the reverend guardian of the College *de propaganda fide* of San Fernando of this Court, in virtue of the order given in the preceding superior decree, I issue the present paper in Mexico, on May 12, 1772.—JOSÉ DE GORRÁEZ.

Together with the copy of the agreement I received a letter from his Excellency the Viceroy, of which the following is a copy:

The reverend father guardian of the apostolic college of this court having stated that there are in the possession of your Reverence a number of utensils belonging to the new missions that were to be founded between San Fernando Vellicatá and the port of San Diego, and which are now in charge of Reverend Father Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte,

vicar of the Dominican friars, your Reverence will deliver them to the latter, taking a receipt which you will send to the Department of Occupied Property, with a statement of their value, which the guardian mentioned tells me has been nine hundred and eighty-eight pesos, including the expense of carriage. With this understanding, charge for them has been made in the same office against the vicar named.

God protect your Reverence for many years.

Mexico, May 4, 1772.

Antonio Bucareli y Ursua.

To Reverend Father Fray Francisco Palóu.

I also received a letter from the reverend father guardian in which he gives me succinct information of everything, and of which I make the following copy:

San Fernando de Mexico, June 10, 1772.

Very Reverend Father Reader and President, Fray Francisco Palóu:

Last month I wrote to your Reverence that it might happen that permission for the entrance of the reverend Dominican fathers to administer the missions of that Peninsula would be obtained. To decide this question his Excellency held four councils at two of which I was present, and more was obtained than we had hoped, for those fathers were entrusted with all the missions as far as San Diego,

exclusive. Consequently the reverend Dominican fathers will have all the old missions and the five that were projected between San Fernando Vellicatá and the port of San Diego, placing their last mission on the Arroyo of San Juan Bautista, with its northern border five leagues farther on, at a point which projects from the Sierra Madre and terminates before reaching the shore. When they are once there they can turn to the east, inclining slightly to the northeast, while this College keeps the new mission of San Diego and those beyond it.

In view of the above, it was agreed in the last royal council, held on the 30th of last April, that these missions should be given up. Your Reverence will take a receipt for everything that may be delivered in each one of them by a regular inventory, which, after being signed by your Reverence and the vicar-general of the Dominican fathers, the Reverend Master, Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, must be sent to the viceroy, with a statement of the number of souls in each of the missions.

Besides this you will deliver all the iron and tools that were sent for the five new missions, with the vestments and church ornaments which were sent for them by his Excellency the Marquis de Croix, taking at the same time a separate receipt for our safeguard.

In regard to the renunciation I reminded his Excellency that it is necessary to transport for each one of the new missions a sufficient stock of cattle,

sheep and goats, and if it can be done now, particularly from the mission of San Borja, I will request his Excellency to have it done, and also that at least four fathers shall remain to found the missions of Santa Clara and Our Father San Francisco, although I fear that through lack of soldiers this cannot be accomplished. I will give your Reverence an account of this in a letter which the aforesaid father master will carry. In the meantime your Reverence can get things ready, so that we may get out of this tiresome business as soon as possible, and so that a supply of provisions for the trip to the port of San Diego may not be lacking. It falls to me to provide for them at Tepic and Guadalaxara whatever may be judged necessary to enable them to return to their College with some comfort, of which I shall also inform your Reverence, whose life may God spare for many years with His holy love and grace.

The following is a copy of the letter that he sent dated May 20, 1772:

Reverend Father President:

I sent this letter to your Reverence by way of San Blas and Santa Cruz de Mayo, and I now add that his Excellency has decided that there shall be four fathers for the missions of Santa Clara and Our Father San Francisco, for which purpose the venerable Discretory has appointed the father preachers Senra, Murguía, Ussón, and Figuer. If

by chance your Reverence should feel inclined to go there you may do so, and Father Marcelino will remain. I would like to keep you in this College and also in Monterey, but knowing that it is impossible to do both at the same time, I find myself undecided; but you may be certain that I shall be glad no matter which end your Reverence may choose. But in order not to leave you in complete indecision and cause you to suffer the pain of uncertainty that I am suffering, I will say that if you do not feel yourself extraordinarily moved to go there, come with the rest, and if any one of those appointed should not go gladly, your Reverence may name another from among those who may desire to go.

The four mentioned, if there is an escort ready to accompany them, can go by land, the governor giving them everything that is necessary, as the viceroy has ordered; but if there is no provision for an escort, let them come with the rest to the port of San Blas, in order to go with the ship when it sails, for I have asked his Excellency for permission to do this and he has granted it.

I do not know whether on this occasion an order will be sent by his Excellency to separate the cattle which are to be taken for the new missions in our charge, but I will do everything possible to have them go at this time. I have received your Reverence's letter of the 2d of April with the complete report, for which I thank you very much, and your

Reverences may rest assured that I will do everything possible for your relief and for the well-being of the missions, as I am now doing. I have in fact obtained many things from this viceroy, and I hope that everything will be arranged, and that the new missions will have the same system as we had in Sierra Gorda, with which it will be possible to work with pleasure, in the hope of reaping much fruit, with the assistance of God and the patronage of Our Lady Prelate. Together with this letter I send to your Reverence a copy of the agreement, for your Reverence's better information.

I salute affectionately all the father companions, and I desire for them each a happy journey, without accident, through God our Lord, whom I pray to keep you for me in His holy love and grace.

College of San Fernando, *fecha ut supra.*

Faithful friend and servant of your Reverence,

Fray Rafael Verger.

The Other Letter on the Same Subject

Reverend Father President Fray Francisco Palóu:

My esteemed master and father:

I have made arrangements with his Excellency to procure as soon as possible from Sonora the mules and horses that are necessary for the mission of San Diego and the rest that may follow in charge of this College, and so that upon delivering those

of that Peninsula to the reverend Dominican fathers, the stock that I shall speak of presently shall be taken from the missions nearest the frontier of San Fernando Vellicatá, with the object that, if they cannot be taken now, they may be put in the places most convenient for this purpose when there is an opportunity to send them. And the fiscal tells me that to-day an order will go from his Excellency to that governor to do what is asked for, if there be nothing to prevent it.

From the mission of San Borja, one hundred and fifty cows with their calves, twenty-five bulls, forty fillies, two stallions, six colts, one jack for breeding, fifty ewes with sixteen wethers, and two hundred she-goats with twenty he-goats.

From Santa Gertrudis, thirty mares with one stallion and a jack for breeding, five colts and six fillies, fifty ewes, sixteen rams, one hundred she-goats, and ten males.

From San Ignacio, sixteen fillies, five horse-colts, one stallion, four jennies and one jack, another jack for breeding, one hundred and twenty-five ewes, twenty-five rams, fifty she-goats, and six males.

From Guadalupe, one stallion, six jennies, three jacks, two hundred ewes, forty rams, eighty she-goats, and ten males. The hogs I believe will go better by ship, and for that reason I make no mention of them.

In a package forwarded by his Excellency I sent a copy of the agreement that I made with the father

master Fray Juan Pedro Iriarte, and of the order that those missions should be delivered to that father; and as I suppose that you have received it, I will not duplicate it in this. As there is no news here to tell you I will not continue. I salute all the companions. I am glad that they are well and happy at the prospect of departing from that exile, and I pray God to keep you for me in His holy love.

Affectionate, humble, servant and friend of your Reverence,

FRAY RAFAEL VERGER.

College of San Fernando, June 23, 1772.

These letters reached California, the first, with the agreement, in the latter part of August, 1772, when it was received with a peal of bells and a chanted Mass giving thanks to God for it; the second, in December of the same year.

CHAPTER XXXI

MEASURES TAKEN IN CALIFORNIA IN CONSEQUENCE OF THIS NEWS

I have already said that the news of the concordat and the decree of approval was received with demonstrations of joy. I immediately communicated it to all the missions, directing them to prepare as soon as possible the inventories and lists, so that when our successors and brothers should arrive we would have nothing to do but deliver what there was according to the inventory, sign it and bring it to Loreto to be despatched. Considering that one missionary was enough for the delivery at each mission, I wrote to them that one might remain, while the others, with the rest of the supernumeraries, could go to the missions nearest Loreto and be at hand to embark at the first opportunity. I endeavored also to have those who were assigned by the venerable Discretory to Monterey go up to the frontier, in order to take advantage of the first opportunity that might offer.

The reverend father guardian and the venerable Discretory had decided that four should

remain. But since they did not know that two of those who were previously at the mission of San Gabriel (the father preachers Fray Angel Somera and Fray Pedro Cambón) had been retired to California on account of sickness and that consequently six were necessary, I determined to send mail to San Diego with a letter informing the reverend father president of the decision of the venerable Discretory and asking him to tell me if we needed more friars.

The mail left Loreto in September, and as two of those appointed, Fathers Ussón and Figuer, were at the missions, it was possible to seize this occasion for them to leave with the mail for San Diego. At the same time that the mail was being made ready a launch sailed for Mazatlán, and I wrote to the reverend father guardian that four friars were not sufficient, since two had gone out because of sickness; and that, besides, I had word by letter from these two that they had asked permission to return to the College. I also wrote him that one was required for the presidio, and that it would be necessary to have one or two supernumeraries, for it might happen that some one of the missionaries might fall sick or die, and this would prevent one from being left alone until another could come from the College, which, on account of the great distance, would take a long time. I added that many of those who were in Califor-

nia would gladly go up by land to Monterey, but once having made the sea passage, it would be very difficult to persuade them again to embark to make the voyage from San Blas to Monterey, on account of the tempestuousness of this sea and the difficulty of the passage. I told him that I was consulting him so that, if there were time, he might tell me what ought to be done, and that I would not decide until I saw his reply, or at least that of the father president of Monterey.

On account of the delay of the reverend Dominican fathers, the delivery of the missions was put off, and there was time for me to receive the replies that I desired. The reverend father preacher Fray Antonio Paterna, who had remained as vice-president of the missions of Monterey because of the departure to Mexico of the reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra, as I shall say in Part II, wrote me that even though ten should go all would be needed, for the same reasons that I had written to the reverend father guardian. At the same time I received a reply from the reverend father Fray Junípero himself, for when he reached Tepic he found there the first of our friars who had left California; and when they told him that I had despatched mail to Monterey, and the purpose for which it went, he wrote me the following answer:

Letter of the Reverend Father President[73]

Reverend Father, Sir, and President, Fray Francisco Palóu:

Dearly beloved friend and Sir:

If your Reverence has received my letters from San Diego you must now know of my voyage, which, through the mercy of God, was fortunate, for in fifteen days after setting sail we dropped anchor at San Blas and I landed on the fourth of the current month. It was then that I received the good news of the approval of the complete renunciation of those missions. Arriving on the seventh at this hospice of Tepic, I learned from fathers Martínez and Imas, for the rest had already set out for Mexico, that your Reverence had sent mail for me to San Diego, which must have arrived shortly after my departure.

Father Martínez tells me that the reverend father guardian has written by the second mail that from among the many ministers who still remain in those old missions he has designated four for the new ones, and that your Reverence wished to know from me if more friars were needed. To this I reply that it seems to me a great pity for friars who are now only a step away to leave, merely in order to return so great a distance, thus multiplying expenses and trouble.

Father Cruzado has asked leave to retire, and it is surely due him for the way he has toiled and because he can do no more. Father Paterna, through my urgent pleadings, may continue if things take on a better aspect; but he also has asked leave to withdraw. I have asked for a third minister for Monterey, so that I can go about, and because two Masses are indispensable there on all feast days, one for the mission and the other for the presidio. I think that they will now be pleased in case the missions of San Buenaventura and Santa Clara are established. With the measures that I expect to bring about this will surely not be difficult, or even perhaps that of Our Father San Francisco, although it may not be exactly on that harbor. On the other hand, in missions situated at such a distance, there should be one or more supernumeraries, and especially if they are without need of great economy; indeed, I believe this to be an urgent necessity.[74]

Concerning the above, in short, my opinion would be that eight or ten should go up there to await my return or the first arrival of a ship. Those who are then seen to be unnecessary can go with the bark; and since the return voyage is easy, as the wind is in the stern, not much time would be lost. But they will say that the provision of food for so many may put difficulties in the way of my proposal; to this I reply that at present there is enough to eat, and by dividing it there will be no lack for them; and I trust in God that they will not perish, for I

believe that in much less than a year the new succor will arrive.

Father Martínez also tells me that your Reverence is one of those who have permission to go, through the father guardian, although they leave it to your decision. If your Reverence decides that we shall live and die together there it will be a great consolation to me; but I only say that your Reverence must do as God may inspire you, and I shall conform to His will.

I will also say concerning my proposal in regard to the number of ministers, that it is my desire that it be carried out only if the tenor of the reverend father guardian's letter is in terms of some indifference, or such as to admit of an interpretation that would allow my plan to be put into practice. But if he roundly orders that four shall go there, and that the rest shall return to the College, I shall say no more than "may God remedy it," and in the meantime we shall yield our obedience.

If there should be time to write to the father guardian and receive a reply concerning the disposition of the friars, and to put it in the hands of your Reverence, everything will be easily arranged, but I do not think it probable. I am leaving to-morrow, God willing, in continuance of my journey. I commend myself to all those very dear brothers of mine, known and unknown, and I pray God to keep your Reverence many years in His holy love and grace.

Hospice of Santa Cruz de Tepic, November 10, 1772. I kiss the hands of your Reverence. Your affectionate brother, friend, and faithful servant.

Fray Junípero Serra.

It appears to have been God's will that the above number of religious should go up to Monterey to work in His mystic vineyard, for on the 11th of November, 1772, one day after that on which my reverend father preacher and president Fray Junípero Serra wrote me, the reverend father guardian wrote in answer to the letter which I wrote to him in September (in regard to the proposal that I made to him that at least eight or ten friars should go to Monterey), saying that he had written the reverend father president of Monterey about it and would act according to his reply. He writes to me in these words: "I approve the plan for the fathers for Monterey; I only doubt whether they will be willing to give the stipend for the one for the presidio."

In view of these letters and opinions, which I received in Loreto before the delivery of these missions, I decided that besides the two already mentioned who went with the mails, Father Ussón and Father Figuer, eight more should go; namely, Father Murguía, who was named by the venerable Discretory; Father Fray Pedro Cambón, who, on account of sickness, had retired

and come down to California, but who, being entirely well now, had petitioned me in several letters to allow him to return to his destination in the missions of Monterey; and Father Fray Juan Prestamero, Father Fray Gregorio Amurrio, Father Fray Fermín Lasuén, and Father Fray Vicente Fuster, because they were then in the frontier missions and nearer to San Diego than to Loreto. Since some families were to be taken from these three missions for the new ones, as his Excellency had decided, I judged it best that the fathers named should go, since two of them desired it, and since Father Lasuén resigned himself to obedience with total indifference, so that by this arrangement the families might go satisfied with the missionary fathers whom they already knew, and with whom they would go more happily because they loved them.

And I decided to go up with them, in consequence of the letter from the reverend father lecturer and preacher, Fray Junípero, quoted above. Father Campa, who held from the reverend father guardian a commission as president in my absence, remained in Loreto, charged with receiving the stock which his Excellency had decided should go for the new missions, with the understanding that he was to go up with the stock as far as San Diego.

CHAPTER XXXII

ARRIVAL OF SOME OF THE DOMINICAN FATHERS AT LORETO, AND DEPARTURE OF SOME OF OURS FOR SAN BLAS

We were momentarily expecting our successors in Loreto and were preparing the inventories for the purpose of delivering the missions and seizing the opportunity to set sail with the north winds which were now beginning, when, on October 14, 1772, the *Lauretana* arrived. On it came ten friars, nine of them priests and one a lay brother, bringing the information that the reverend father master, their president, Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, was coming with the rest on the *Concepción,* which had left San Blas together with the *Lauretana.* The ten friars landed the same day, many of them, one especially, being very ill. He died ten days after their arrival, and honors were given him with as much ceremony as was possible. We endeavored to attend and care for the rest with the charity required of us by our seraphic Father San Francisco. They came without any letter whatever, for their reverend father president had taken it for granted that he would

arrive first, as they had assured him in San Blas. For this reason, and because none of them came with authority as vice-president, they did not wish to receive any of the missions, even though it was proposed to them on several occasions, especially when they perceived how long the bark was delayed, for it did not arrive until May of the following year, as I shall say farther on.

In consequence of the letter which I had written to all the missions in August, some of the friars arrived at Loreto, with the object of embarking at the first opportunity. This was done on the 19th of the same month of October, when the schooner sailed. With it went six[75] of our friars, namely the father preacher Fray Antonio Martínez, who had been ill for a year in Loreto with an affliction which had made it impossible for him to sail; Fray Francisco Echasco and Fray Angel Somera, the latter of whom had come from San Diego ill and was now better; Father Fray Martín Palacios, Fray Vicente Imas, and Fray Pedro Arrequíbar. I received a letter saying that they arrived fortunately at San Blas in eleven days. On the 2d of December two more embarked, Fathers Fray Fernando Parrón and Fray Manuel Lago, who sailed on the *Lauretana*. The haste with which the governor despatched this vessel, for he did not inform me until it was too late, gave no opportunity for more to go.

Seeing that the *Concepción* was delayed, and that there were eleven of us friars in Loreto, nine of them Dominicans, the latter proposed, if it seemed right to me, that four of them should go out and distribute themselves among the nearest missions, in order not to cause such heavy expense to the mission of Loreto. I agreed to this, and also that the proposal should come from themselves, so that it might not be said that I had regarded them as too many. But they did not consent to take charge of the missions, nor even to go to the particular missions assigned them; instead, two went to San José and two others to San Xavier. The other four and the lay brother remained at Loreto, continuing in great peace and harmony without the slightest disagreement. All were very happy except for the sorrow of not having any news of the others, and wondering whether they had arrived at San Blas or had been shipwrecked.[76] In the meantime they made themselves acquainted with the condition of the missions and the system which we maintained in them, in order to choose afterwards what seemed best to them.

On the 8th of April, 1773, which was Holy Thursday, a small sloop arrived in the night with letters, and a report that the fathers were in Tamazula, and that the reverend father master and two more friars had died, making, with the one who died in Loreto and another in Guada-

laxara, five of that mission who had passed away. Reverend Father Vicente Mora, lecturer in theology and one of those who had been in Loreto now for half a year, received private letters in which he was told that he had been made president. As soon as he showed me the letters I told him that he could now begin to receive and distribute the friars, so that when the rest came he would be more at leisure. To this he replied that he could not do so until his commission arrived, but he consented to receive what belonged to the new missions and to work on the receipts and other things that might come up. This was done, as I shall relate in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXXIII

WHAT WAS DONE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE FATHERS

In virtue of the letter from his Excellency of June 4, 1772, which is copied in chapter thirty, I delivered to the very reverend father president of the Dominicans, Fray Vicente Mora, all the tools and utensils of house and field that had come from the College for the five missions which it was planned to found[77] between San Fernando Vellicatá and San Diego. I presented the original invoice which had come from Mexico with the statement of prices, the entire value amounting to nine hundred and eighty-eight pesos. He asked me for a copy of this invoice, which I signed and delivered to him, but the father president objected to giving me the receipt in full because the pottery from Pueblo, which was broken on the road, was missing, and because some trifles did not come, doubtless having been lost on the road, or placed by mistake in the boxes for Monterey. All that was lacking, including the pottery, amounted to twelve pesos and six reals. I therefore asked our brother syndic, Don Manuel García Morales, to pay for them, saying

that he would be reimbursed in Mexico. Satisfied with this arrangement, he agreed to receive the utensils and handed me the receipt, which he gave me in duplicate, one for his Excellency and the other for the reverend father guardian of my College.

At the same time, in virtue of the letter from the reverend father guardian, which is copied in chapter thirty, I delivered to him all the vestments, sacred vessels, and utensils of church and sacristy which I had received from his Excellency the Marquis de Croix for the five missions named, by the same invoice that was given to me with the vestments by the captain of the packet *San Carlos,* Don Miguel Pino. At the foot of this invoice the reverend father president wrote his receipt, by which he acknowledged that he had received everything stated in the invoice, in order to send it to his Excellency. Of this the reverend father president gave me a duplicate, signed by himself, to send to the reverend father guardian.

Respecting the vestments for those five missions, I showed him that I had caused the greater part of them, especially the white articles, to be mended, using for this purpose three pieces of linen. I paid for the work with chocolate, which had all been purchased from the allowance, as also for washing, starching, and ironing them, but he contented himself with

thanking me for it, saying that he had no other object than to see if this might offset the house utensils that had been broken or lost.

This business finished, I gave him a memorandum of all the vestments, sacred vessels and utensils for church and sacristy, which, since we had received the missions, had been taken for the new ones, from the existing ones as well as from the two that were extinguished. I gave him also documents setting forth that they had been taken, not by the missionaries, but by the illustrious visitor-general, as was attested by his signature on those documents. The things which the reverend father president had taken out by order of the visitor-general were at the new mission of San Fernando Vellicatá, in charge of the father preacher Fray Miguel de la Campa, minister of that mission, as appeared from the receipt signed by him. The four bells that I had taken, two from the mission of Purísima, one from San José, and another from San Xavier, for the purpose of supplying the five missions that were to be founded, together with another sent to me from La Paz by Don Matías de Armona, were in Loreto, and he received them, giving me a receipt for the five. He also asked me for a memorandum of all the vestments that the visitor took, and for the documents attesting to them. I did not wish to give him the originals, but gave him instead copies of them signed by

my hand, asking him at the same time to sign the memorandum for me, in order that I might send everything to the College.

I went through this procedure in consequence of the fact that the governor of the Peninsula, Don Felipe Barry, told these fathers, as soon as they landed, that we had sacked the missions, taking for ourselves from the churches and sacristies vestments and silver vessels for the missions of Monterey. He told them this notwithstanding that these fathers were well informed of our proceedings, and had given me a certificate, in the month of November or the beginning of December, that it was true that the governor had told them that we had sacked the missions, but that it was clear to them that the charge was a base imposture. I did not wish, in the delivery of these missions, to omit this procedure, which was designed to protect the good name of the friars of my apostolic College.

I also gave him a memorandum of all the mules, horses, cattle, and the rest that were taken from the missions, by order of the visitor for the expeditions to San Diego and Monterey, by the captain of the presidio, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, with the original receipt of that captain, which he signed so that the value might be repaid, and also to make it clear who took it out and how, so that if anything were missing in the individual inventories of the missions

the removal of the horses and cattle might not be attributed to the missionary friars.

With this purpose in view, I made the reverend father president see that the small stock of sheep and goats which were afterwards taken from San Borja, with some fillies and a few mules from this mission and that of Santa Gertrudis, had all been paid for by the two missions of San Diego and San Gabriel with warrants of the soldiers, which they turned over to those two missions for what they owed. These warrants were transferred to the missions of San Borja and Santa Gertrudis, and the reverend father president himself accepted them in order to collect them at the royal warehouse. With this statement a quietus was put upon the charge which was made that we had taken cattle and horses from the northern missions for those of Monterey, although all of the foregoing had been done before the renunciation of those missions and by order of his Excellency the Marquis de Croix. This was known to the governor, the author of the falsehoods, for his Excellency wrote to him in the first article of his instructions of November 12, 1770, as follows:

"The new governor, in agreement with the father president, Fray Francisco Palóu, will take the measures that may appear to him most opportune and efficacious, with the end of bringing about the found-

ing of those missions; and so that they may not lack what is necessary for their subsistence let him avail himself, if it be necessary, of the proper means of obtaining assistance from those old missions that may have a surplus[78] and are nearest to the frontier."

Notwithstanding this order, and that it was known to that gentleman that the visitor had given the same order in his instructions to me, which I also give to Father President Mora, he gave it out that we had sacked the missions and taken stock, but with these measures put into effect the procedure of the missionaries[79] of the College of San Fernando was made clear.

Together with the instructions which the visitor-general, Don José de Gálvez, had left for the management of the missions, I delivered to the reverend father president of the Dominicans all his decrees, as well as those which I obtained from Don Matías de Armona, and copies of the memorials presented to his Excellency in favor of the missions, and of the good measures that had been obtained for the benefit of the Peninsula, so that he might proceed with them.

These matters finished, I gave him the statement of the accounts of the missions as regards the business and credits with the royal warehouses, making a separate and clear account for each of the missions and comparing it with the books of the royal warehouses, with the account of our brother syndic, and with the warrants

which the reverend father president received for the collections of what private persons owed to the missions, without more trouble than to present them to the royal commissary to be credited on the books.

According to this memorandum and the adjustment of accounts, it was found that the missions had in funds and balances ten thousand and forty-six pesos, free and entirely independent. This sum is in possession of our brother syndic, Don Manuel García Morales, and of his substitute in the south, Don Juan Crisóstomo de Castro: in cash and silver bullion, two thousand and seventy-three pesos, three and a half reals; in credits with the royal warehouse for the products which it has received from the missions, five thousand, nine hundred and twelve pesos, seven reals and three quarters; in warrants and business with private persons, two thousand and sixty-nine[80] pesos, four and three quarters reals, all of which items amount to the aforesaid sum of ten thousand and forty-six pesos.

When we received these missions in 1768, the royal warehouse had in credits seven thousand, six hundred and twenty-four pesos, seven and a quarter reals; and the missions having been credited, by order of the illustrious visitor-general, with two thousand, four hundred and fifty-one pesos, four reals and a half, the value

of silver and gold bullion that was found in some of the missions at the departure of the Jesuit fathers, the entire balance came to ten thousand and seventy-five pesos and three reals and three quarters. From this sum were paid one thousand, one hundred and fifteen pesos and one quarter real, which those missions were owing to private persons, leaving to the missions the net balance of eight thousand, nine hundred and seventy pesos and three and a half reals; and as it was found in the transfer of the missions that the balances came to the sum of ten thousand and forty-six pesos, it was seen that the fund of the missions had been increased by the sum of one thousand and eighty-five pesos and four and a half reals.

The balance came to	₱ 8,860 3½
It now comes to	10,046 0
Increase	₱ 1,085 4½

I delivered this statement of accounts to the reverend father president of the Dominicans. A copy of it was drawn up by both presidents to send to his Excellency, and another, signed in the same way, for my reverend father guardian.

At the same time I showed him by the books of our brother syndic how the missionaries had applied to the fund of the missions the alms collected from all the Masses which had been entrusted to them, adding to the principal the

increment from the harvests. By the books it appeared that the alms for the five years that we administered them came to one thousand, six hundred and forty-one pesos, with which the officials had helped to maintain the missions, besides which, all that was left over and above the stipends had come from Mexico invested in clothing and tools. For this reason there must appear in the special inventories of the missions the increase in tools and house utensils, and in equipment for church and sacristy, without causing any lack to the Indians of the gifts of clothing or the regular allowance of food, for they admitted that they had never been better fed or clothed.[81]

I delivered to him also, as I said above, the memorandum of the mules, horses, cattle, and the rest which the captain took from the missions for the expeditions, together with the receipt from the captain and the new order from his Excellency for the royal warehouse to pay for it. Comparing it with the rates set by the visitor-general, it amounts altogether to four thousand, seven hundred and two pesos and two reals, which also remains as a fund or balance in the missions. It is to be added that in the deliveries of the missions there were also, besides what is stated above, other warrants and alms received by the Dominican missionary fathers, which went above two hundred pesos. Summing up

all the items, they came to more than fourteen thousand, nine hundred and forty-eight pesos and two reals. Being satisfied with all of the above, the reverend father president, Fray Vicente, gave me receipts for everything, with duplicates to send to his Excellency the Viceroy and to the reverend father guardian, in case anything might come up. All of this business was finished before the arrival of the rest of the fathers.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE FATHERS ARRIVE IN CALIFORNIA AND THE DELIVERY OF THE MISSIONS IS EFFECTED

Finding ourselves now free of the affairs related in the preceding chapter, we were wishing with lively anxiety for the arrival of the fathers, when it was the will of God that the two barks, the *Concepción* and the *Lauretana,* should drop anchor at Loreto on May 12, 1773, eighteen priests landing the same afternoon. It was a day of great joy for everybody, for those who arrived after so many alarms and troubles in reaching their destination, and for us because the hour drew near for us to leave that exile.[82] They gave thanks to God with three chanted Masses, and immediately after the distribution of the cargoes and provisions was concluded, eight of them left by land for the nearest missions, for the purpose of taking charge of them. Six were destined to go by land to the three pueblos of the South, Todos Santos, Santiago de las Coras, and San José del Cabo; and the others to those of the North, where they were to go in a sloop and two launches, the reverend father president remaining at Loreto with another priest and the lay brother.

As soon as the reverend father president finished the distribution of the friars, we passed on to the formal delivery of the mission of Loreto, which was done with all formality and brevity, as the register and inventories of church and house had been made beforehand. All the Indians of the mission assembled at the sound of the bell, and after the list of them had been read a speech was made to them so that they might recognize the reverend father president, Fray Vicente Mora, and his companion, as their fathers and missionaries, sent to them for this purpose by the king, our master, because we were going to the new missions of Monterey. The reverend father president made a speech of his own, telling them that they would endeavor to look upon them and care for them as sons, and that he hoped they would conduct themselves as dutiful children, being punctual at catechism, prayer, and the other functions pertaining to the mission.

This affair settled, we went on to the delivery of the church and sacristy, turning over all the vestments, sacred vessels, and utensils, which was quickly concluded, as we had already made the inventories. In the same manner and with the same formality the delivery of the appurtenances of house and field was effected. As soon as it was all finished, we the two presidents signed a statement that we had delivered and received everything named in the list and inventories.

I did not wish to deliver the mission of Loreto by the old inventory, partly because it had not been received by inventory, and partly because his Excellency merely said that it was to be delivered to the reverend father president and a receipt taken from him for what was turned over to him. For this reason I warned all the missionaries of the missions that, although they had received the missions and on receiving them inventories had been formed which were now in the archives, they should not deliver by them, but by inventories of what existed at present, and that after the delivery was concluded and the lists and inventories had been signed by the fathers who were receiving and those who were delivering, they should turn over the old inventories, so that they might compare them with the others, and see whether there had been gains or losses. The lists and inventories were each made in triplicate, one to send to his Excellency, another for the reverend father guardian, and another to remain in possession of the reverend Dominican father president, all of them signed by the two of us. The delivery of the mission of Loreto was made with all peace and harmony, and without the least disagreement.

In the same form and manner the delivery was made at all the missions, with the sole difference that after the registers and inventories were signed by the fathers who received and those who delivered, this memorandum was placed at the

foot of each of them: "We acknowledge the delivery and the receipt of everything stated in the list and inventories which precede, and so that it may be on record we sign it."

In order not to delay longer in Loreto, I decided to embark with the Dominican fathers who were going to the missions of the North, leaving in Loreto as president the father preacher Fray Miguel de la Campa, for the father guardian had sent his patent to him for this purpose, so that he might preside in my absence. Taking advantage of this previously formed plan, I left him with orders to arrange with the reverend father president of the Dominicans everything that might come up, and also to sign the inventories of the mission of Todos Santos, which would probably be delayed for more than a month. I was to take charge of signing those of the North, traveling from mission to mission, starting from Mulegé, where I would land, and going from there to Guadalupe, where I would begin the inventories of Purísima and San José. That of San Xavier was already done, for since it was so near, the delivery was made at the same time as that of Loreto.

I charged Father Campa to go on receiving the signed inventories of all the missions, and to seal them all up, together with the letter that I had written and left with him for his Excellency. I charged him also to send them to

the reverend father guardian, so that he might give them with his own hand to his Excellency the Viceroy, and to do the same with a duplicate of everything for the College, with the sole difference that to the latter should be added the inventories of all the missions which they made when we received them. I had previously asked all the missionaries to send me signed copies, so that, by having them in the College, the reverend father guardian and the venerable Discretory could compare them with those that were formed when the delivery was made, in order to see what increases or losses had occurred, and also in case any question came up in Mexico, to have the means at hand to settle any point. I also left with him my letter for the reverend father guardian, in which I informed him of everything, and that I was on the way to Monterey. With all this, which I had already arranged before the arrival of the fathers, I was able to release myself and take up my journey more quickly, so that the father companions who were to follow to Monterey might not be detained.

Only two points remained pending, the removal of families from the old missions to the new, and of the stock which his Excellency had ordered taken. In regard to the first point, I came to an agreement with the reverend Dominican father president that in passing through the northern missions I might take from them

twenty-five families, those who were willing to go voluntarily and seemed most suitable to me for the purpose. As to the second point, about the stock, he replied that he wished to await the inventories, when it would be determined according to the condition of the missions what was to be taken. Although it occurred to me to tell him that his Excellency had ordered that before delivering the missions the stock should be set aside and kept in convenient places to be taken up to San Diego at the best time, I did not wish to oppose him, for reasons which I will state in the next chapter. So I contented myself with telling him that in order to satisfy his Excellency it would be better for us to write him a joint letter, saying that in view of the fact that we were now in the rigor of the dry season, and that to separate the cattle for the missions at this time would put them in evident danger of perishing, we judged it best to postpone it until the month of October, when there would surely be water and pasture; and that for the purpose of receiving the stock the father preacher,[83] Fray Miguel de la Campa, was remaining in Loreto, and, as he holds from the College all the powers and the patent of president, he could give the receipt. He regarded this step as very wise, and as he charged me with the writing of the letter I did so, leaving it with him to be signed and sent to his Excellency.

CHAPTER XXXV

IN WHICH THE QUESTION OF THE STOCK IS TREATED, AND THE REASON WHY IT WAS NOT SET ASIDE ON THE DELIVERY OF THE MISSIONS

In the latter part of December, 1772, the governor received a letter from his Excellency, in which he told him that some families of Indians were to go from the old missions of California to the missions of Monterey, for the work that would have to be done in the new missions; and also a supply of every kind of stock for breeding, which should be set apart on the delivery of the missions and kept in a suitable place, so that what was so important for the new reductions should not be lost. With this object he sent him a copy of the petition of the reverend father guardian and the venerable Discretory, in which the number of animals to be set apart is stated, naming the missions from which they were to be taken. In regard to this matter I received also from the reverend father guardian news of this decision in the letter which is copied in chapter thirty, folio sixty-four.[84]

As soon as the governor received these letters from his Excellency he sent me an official paper telling me that since he had a superior order from his Excellency, he needed to know how many families of Indians were to go from these missions to those of Monterey, and from what missions they were to go, so that he might take measures for fulfilling these superior orders; and that in the same way and for the same object he needed to know how much stock of all species, except mules and broken horses, the missions of Guadalupe, San Ignacio, Santa Gertrudis, and San Borja had. To this I replied immediately that there were to be twenty-five families, but that, as it was necessary for them to go freely and willingly, I would write to the missionaries of the missions nearest the frontier telling them to inquire into the disposition of the Indians and inform me of it; and that I would also ask them for a report on the stock which the missions had, and as soon as it reached me I would advise him of it.

I was surprised at the promptness of the governor in this matter, which was in favor of the missions that were in charge of the friars; for up to that time he had been the reverse, and had even given orders to the sergeant who was at the mission of Vellicatá in no manner to allow the smallest thing to go from the old missions to San Diego, for which reason the sergeant

prevented a bushel of corn from going which the fathers of San Diego had asked from those of Vellicatá. I communicated this news to the Reverend Father Fray Vicente Mora, who was in Loreto, and was very far from thinking that the presidency of the missions would fall upon him. On the contrary he was very certain that he was going as minister to San Borja, for which he had come destined. Several times he had promised me that we would hold communication,* and that his mission of San Borja, since it was so well provided with cattle, would send to us at San Diego those that we might need, and that they might be paid for with warrants on Mexico, so that their attorney could send them clothing for their Indians.

As soon as this father read the governor's paper he said, "This is owing to me." Explaining himself, he told me that the governor had sent for him the day before and communicated those orders to him, adding that he had sent for him because it was the business of the fathers to prevent it. When he asked how they could interfere with it, being the order of his Excellency, which was already settled in the agreement, he replied that it could easily be done, for his Excellency had said in the order: "If there be no difficulty to prevent it." "Well, Sir," replied Father Mora, "how could it be proved that there is anything to prevent the missions from selling

* That is, after Palóu should go to New California.

their superfluous cattle?" Seeing this decision the governor changed and said, "Well, father, I thought I was doing your Reverence a service, so I wish you to tell me what I ought to do." He replied, "Carry out his Excellency's orders to the letter, if you do not wish some reprimand to follow." It was in consequence of this advice that he sent me the official papers that I mentioned above.

In the early part of March I sent the reports, but as the names of the families were not given, the governor replied that without a knowledge of these he could not issue the orders. Although I convinced him that the Indians were in fact prone to change their minds,[85] and that it might very well happen that some of them would repent and others go in their places, and that until they left the frontier it could not be certainly known who they would be, nevertheless he took no steps whatever, either in regard to the families or the stock, leaving these matters to sleep until the middle of April, when the news had been received of the death of the reverend father president Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, and that the Reverend Father Mora had been elected president in his place. He then came to the monastery, and, calling us both, said that he came to speak on the matter of the cattle which his Excellency had ordered taken for the missions of Monterey, reading to us the letter of

his Excellency in which the order was given.[86] He also read us the report from the fathers that I had sent him, and said:

In order that they may not blame me for any omission in carrying out the order of my superior, having before me the superior order, the memorial of the college, and the report of the missionaries, I declare that there is nothing to prevent putting hand to the taking of the stock; only it seems that it ought not all to come from the mission suggested by the reverend father guardian in his memorial, but should be divided among the four missions, so that the number asked for may be completed. With this object I have prepared this plan of those from which they are to be taken.

When he wished to read this plan which he had made up all alone, the Reverend Father Mora checked him, telling him that this was not his business but that of the reverend father preachers, and therefore we would make and decide the plan, and that his business was to give the necessary aid for guarding and transporting the stock. I saw that the father was very much annoyed by the action of the governor, which caused me no less surprise than had been caused me before by his zeal. Seeing this, I replied the same as Father Mora, saying that we would make the plan, that he should give me the one he had made and I would compare it with mine. He then gave it to me. For this reason I postponed speaking about the stock.

Reflecting upon the occurrence, I suspected that the two might have made it up together and that the father, having now been made president, might wish to oppose the removal of the cattle under pretext of some difficulty. I was confirmed afterwards when I spoke to him, before the missions were turned over, for he replied that he needed first to ascertain the state of the missions, and although I told him that the last reports on what they had were there, he wished to have me believe that the Indians might have destroyed much, but when I invited him to go with me from mission to mission he excused himself on the ground that he could not leave Loreto until the mission was put in running order.

Of course it occurred to me that I could tell him that I would not deliver the missions until after fulfillment of the agreement between the two prelates in Mexico, approved by his Excellency, who had sent the order for the cattle to be taken out; but, as it says, "if there should be no difficulty to prevent it," he could easily find difficulties, and entirely with the approval of the governor, who, at his slightest hint, would give a certification of them to send to his Excellency. From this nothing would result but ill feeling and the announcement that we had decided not to deliver the missions; and he would ask help from the governor, and with confusion and scandal they would dispossess us. With the

object of averting this result, it seemed to me better to dissimulate and leave this charge to Father Campa, reporting to the College all that had happened, which I did. I sent the original plan made by the governor, as I said above, directing Father Campa, after all the inventories had been received, to speak to him, and if he agreed to the removal of the cattle, to accept what might be given him without saying a word, and go with it to San Diego; but if he resisted under any pretext whatever, to ask for a certified statement of the fact for the satisfaction of the College, and to go with it to Mexico, where his Excellency would decide what was best.*

* In Part Three, chapters 3–8 (Vol. III, 309–386), Palóu continues the story of the trouble over the cattle, mules, and bales of goods belonging to the missions. Logically those chapters belong in this volume.

CHAPTER XXXVI

DEPARTURE FROM THE MISSION OF LORETO FOR THE NORTH

Having concluded the delivery and left Father Campa in the mission of Loreto with the orders stated in the two preceding chapters, I embarked in the sloop with all the provisions belonging to the missions of Monterey, and with the utensils that were given me for them by all the friars who were retiring to the College. Four of the Dominican friars embarked with me in the sloop, and six more of them in two launches. We sailed on the 24th of May, about one in the afternoon, and arrived without the least accident at the mission of Mulegé on the third day of sailing. Three of the fathers landed and continued their voyage by sea in the launch of San Borja, two of them being destined for that mission and the other for Vellicatá; but although they had intended to continue the journey as far as the bay of San Borja, when they reached Santa Gertrudis they disembarked and went by land.

Father Campa was charged to see, as soon as the bark sailed, that the six friars who had been detained for days in the missions of Purísima

and San José Cumundú, namely the father preachers Fray Juan Gastón, Fray Juan Sancho, Fray Vicente Santa María, Fray Juan Antonio Riobóo, Fray Antonio Linares, and Fray Francisco Xavier Texada, should embark. The last-named, who arrived in California in April, 1772, was one of those who had remained ill in Tepic when the rest came. The other companion, Fray José Herrera, who had remained behind for the same reason, not being willing to wait until he was entirely well, left to follow the others by land, and died in the camp of Rosario. These six named, who were now free of the missions, succeeded in embarking on the *Concepción,* which sailed from Loreto on the 27th of May. On the 15th of June fathers Fray Andrés Villaumbrales and Fray Benito Sierra, accompanied by our brother and syndic, Don Manuel García Morales, embarked on the schooner and went to Cerralvo to take on those who were in the southern missions. No one remained in California but Father Campa, who stayed for the business spoken of, and Father Fray Juan Medina Beitía, who had not yet gone out from the mission of San Ignacio.

As soon as I arrived at the mission of Mulegé with the six Dominican friars, I made the delivery of the mission, and from there went to Guadalupe, and afterwards to San Ignacio, putting the same measures into effect in them.

The Dominican fathers destined as ministers to San Ignacio remained there. I desired to await in San Ignacio Fathers Murguía and Prestamero, who were going with me to Monterey and had remained behind. But, on receiving a letter in which they told me that in order to give the animals a chance to rest a little they would not leave Guadalupe until the day after Corpus Christi, I decided to go to Santa Gertrudis, where I arrived on June 9,[87] the eve of Corpus Christi, and the following day, after the celebration of the feast, the delivery of the mission was made. From this mission, as it was one of those nearest the frontier, I decided to take some families, both because of its large population and because many were asking to go. As soon as I proposed it to the fathers one of them replied that it could not be, for when some of the friars were together in the cell of the reverend father president he had told them not to allow a single Indian to be taken from the missions for Monterey. To this I replied that I did not see how that could be, for when I left Loreto we were agreed that I was to take out any that I liked. In fact, I was bringing from Loreto three single men, and one who came by land from the mission of San José, his Reverence telling me that he had already informed the fathers of this project, so that they would know about it. They confirmed this, and when I told them that I would wait

and we would write to Loreto, they replied that it was not necessary for me to wait. They said that my word was sufficient, that I might select and take away all that I wanted, and that we would despatch mail to the reverend father president, giving him an account of it, and if his Reverence did not think it was right to take the Indians they could return from the frontier.

I accordingly selected three families of married people and two single men, and, leaving these latter to accompany Father Fray Gregorio Amurrio, who had just turned over the mission so that he might convoy the two companions who were coming behind, I set out with the three families on the 13th of June,[88] in the afternoon, now with only one Dominican father who was destined for the frontier of Vellicatá, the rest remaining distributed among their respective missions. We arrived on the 16th[89] at San Borja, where I found the two reverend Dominican fathers[90] who had landed already at Santa Gertrudis and had continued the rest of the way by land. Here I had the same discussions with them in regard to the families. They added that they had the order in writing, and in fact they showed it to me. In it their reverend father president told them that they should by no manner of means permit anything whatever to be taken from the missions, nor any Indians for the missions of Monterey, until his Reverence should

be informed of the state of the mission. But when I took the same stand as in the preceding mission they permitted me to take seven families which I selected and five unmarried young men.

The delivery of the mission made, I left with all of them, accompanied by their missionary, Fray Fermín de Lazuén, on the afternoon of the 21st,[91] and we arrived without the least mishap on the morning of the 24th at Santa María, where we were received by our brother syndic and the sergeant of the company, Don José Francisco de Ortega, who was appointed by the governor to be our conductor. He had already transported from the bay of San Luís to Santa María all the loads belonging to the missions of Monterey which I had sent from Loreto by the sloop; and in order to give time for all to go to the mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá, I remained about three weeks in Santa María. By this delay it was possible for them to make some pinole for the journey, and for Fathers Murguía, Prestamero, and Amurrio to arrive. We went together to the mission of San Fernando, where we arrived on the 13th of July, and found fathers Fray Vicente Fuster and Fray Pedro Cambón, who were to go on with us to San Diego.

The delivery of the new mission founded by our College being concluded, I turned it over, with its church and dwelling, all made of adobes thatched with tule, and more than four hundred

Indians baptized in our time, with their little crop of wheat, about thirty bushels, that they had just harvested, their patch of corn planted, and a good beginning of large and small stock.

At this mission I received a letter from Loreto in which the Reverend Father Campa told me that the packet *San Carlos,* which was loaded with corn and beans destined for San Diego, had put in at the port of Escondido, as it had not been able to make the voyage; and that it was proposed to leave the cargo in Loreto and return to San Blas because the rudder was broken. In consequence of this news I postponed taking more families of Indians, surmising[92] the scarcity of supplies which the new missions would suffer because of the return of the packet. At the same time I decided to leave in Vellicatá all the cargoes of goods[93] for the missions of Monterey and for the fathers who were following me, taking only what was strictly necessary for the road, so that all the mules might be loaded with all the corn and beans they could carry, both for the journey and so that some succor for San Diego might arrive with us. I gave notice of this to the governor of Loreto and begged him to do everything possible to send by sea to the bay of San Lucas all the corn that he could. I was charged with sending, as soon as I should reach San Diego, the pack train with all the mules, both those of the royal service of the Department

of California and Monterey and those of the new missions, the former to go with corn and the latter with the cargoes of goods,[94] which were under custody of Father Fray Pedro Cambón, in order that he might go up afterwards with them. He gladly accepted this duty, remaining in Vellicatá with the reverend Dominican fathers until the return of the pack train.

CHAPTER XXXVII

DEPARTURE FROM SAN FERNANDO DE VELLICATÁ, THE LAST MISSION OF CALIFORNIA, FOR SAN DIEGO, THE FIRST OF MONTEREY

The delivery of the mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá, the last in California, concluded, and all the other missions transferred, and their inventories finished and sent to Loreto; leaving Father Fray Pedro Cambón in charge of the packs belonging to the new missions of Monterey and to the[95] missionary friars; and everything necessary having been prepared for the journey, we six friars set out from Vellicatá with the six families of Indians, escorted by fourteen soldiers and Sergeant Ortega, on the 21st of July, 1773, at about one in the afternoon. Having spent the night at the place called Santa Ursula, we arrived about midday at the site of Viñaraco, where we had decided to make a stop for the mules to recover, for they had been badly lamed in carrying the loads of corn from the bay of San Luís to Vellicatá.

On the 23d the men employed themselves in making an arbor to serve as a chapel in which

to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the Mass every day of the stop, and some other arbors for the soldiers and the families of Indians. On the 24th, the day of San Francisco Solano, we celebrated his feast with a chanted Mass in thanksgiving for having come out with all peace and good fortune from our exile in California. At the same time we chose for patron of the journey the above-named Holy Seraphic Apostle of America, hoping from his favor that, being patron, as he is, of the South Sea, he would be patron also for our journey to the missions founded on the coasts of that sea.

The following day I decided to despatch three of the soldiers as messengers to the first mission, on the harbor of San Diego, to report our coming to the missionaries and to the captain commanding, and especially to report the arrival of the *San Carlos* at the port of Escondido from the camp of Loreto, so that if by chance the other packet should touch at San Diego or at Monterey, it might not unload all the provisions at one of those places, but that they should be divided between those places, thus avoiding the trouble of carriage by land; and that if by chance the other packet named had appeared it would be necessary that all the mules, of the royal service as well as of the missions, should be in San Diego as soon as possible. The messengers set out with these letters on the 27th.

We remained at Viñaraco with the object already stated until August 3, when, having prepared ourselves with the jubilee of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciúncula, for it was on that day that it was conquered, confessing and taking communion with six Masses that were celebrated in the chapel of branches, we set out upon our journey.

Although the mules were somewhat recuperated, it was necessary, in order to make it possible for them to reach their destination, to make the daily journeys short and to halt on some days, especially in the places which were best supplied with pasture and water. At seventy leagues' travel, a little more or less, half a league before reaching the place called San Anteójenes, alias La Grulla, we met the father preachers Fray Antonio Paterna, minister of the mission of San Gabriel, and Fray Tomás de la Peña, minister of that of San Diego, who, as soon as they received the letters in which I told them of our journey, gathered together all the mules they could from the two missions, and set out to meet us. This aid was a great relief to us, and the coming of those fathers a great joy, and after resting a day and a half in the same place, La Grulla, we continued our journey together.

On the 19th of August we came to the place which had been designated in the agreement,

approved by the royal council and confirmed by his Excellency for the limit of the missions of the reverend Dominican fathers, and the beginning of those of San Fernando. We came provided with a cross made the preceding day from a large alder at the arroyo of San Juan Bautista, and bearing this inscription, "Dividing Line Between the Missions of Our Father Santo Domingo and those of Our Father San Francisco, 1773." We planted it on a high rock which is in the very road, driving it into an opening in the rock itself, just as though it had been made for the purpose, and serving as a pedestal for the cross. As soon as we had set it up and venerated it, we sang with extraordinary joy the *Te Deum Laudamus,* giving thanks to God our Lord for our arrival in the land of our destination. The holy cross was not put on the very point of the Sierra Madre, which terminates before reaching the beach, as is stated in the agreement, because that point is more than three leagues from the highway, but at the conclusion of that range, which was judged by us friars and by the soldiers and sergeant who were well acquainted with the road, to be in line with the point. It is five leagues distant from the arroyo of San Juan Bautista and about fifteen from the port of San Diego, so that where the cross marks the division one begins to descend a very steep slope until one is about to enter the place named

Los Méganos,[96] where we halted on the 20th.* Continuing our journey, delaying just long enough to examine the pack train, we reached San Diego on the morning of the 30th.

* This would put the site of the cross at a point about eleven leagues, or some thirty miles, south of the present boundary between Mexico and California.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

ARRIVAL AT THE MISSION OF SAN DIEGO, AND WHAT WAS DONE THERE

We were welcomed by everybody with demonstrations of great joy. The soldiers saluted us with the artillery and other firearms, to which those who came as our escort responded, and the new Christian Indians greeted us with their sweet songs of praise to God which they had not known a short time before. On the next day we sang High Mass with all the solemnity possible, in thanksgiving for our safe arrival. Assuming that the reply from the captain commanding in Monterey had started back, and judging that it might perhaps provide for sending more mules, as I had asked him from Viñaraco, I decided to await the message in San Diego.

In the absence of the very reverend father lecturer and president Fray Junípero Serra, I was charged with the presidency of these new missions. Therefore, in order to make decisions with certainty, in the interval until the messenger arrived I inquired about their state and what steps had been taken for the founding of those that had not yet been established. By Father

Fray Antonio Paterna, who was acting as vice-president, I was informed of everything, and I learned from the two missionaries of San Diego[97] that they were expecting in the barks orders to go on with the founding, but that until they arrived it was impossible to set a hand to it, on account of the lack of provisions as well as of soldiers, and that this was one of the principal causes that took the reverend father president to Mexico. I therefore thought it best to distribute the friars who had come from California among the missions already founded, so that they might remain there until the arrival of the reverend father Fray Junípero Serra and the orders of his Excellency.

The ministers of the mission of San Diego were Fray Luís Jayme and Fray Tomás de la Peña. The latter asked me with much earnestness to take him away from San Diego, as he was unhappy there and had a desire to go to the missions above. Consenting to his plea, I appointed in his place Father Preacher Fray Vicente Fuster, and as supernumerary Father Fray Gregorio Amurrio, so that he might be with those fathers until the founding of the missions. In view of the fact that this mission now had some Indians among the new Christians accustomed to work, I assigned to it only one of the families who came from California, with the object that the woman might teach the Indian

Rock on which Father Palóu erected the cross marking the boundary line, 1773.

Thirty miles south of [illegible] Photograph by Hendry, 1926.

women to spin and weave the wool that they were now beginning to obtain from the sheep possessed by the missions.

At the mission of San Gabriel[98] the ministers were the father preachers Fray Antonio Paterna and Fray Antonio Cruzado, both of whom had asked permission of the College for their retirement and were awaiting the reply by the boat. The supernumerary was the father preacher Fray Juan Figuer, one of those that I said left California in the month of October, and one of the four named by the reverend father guardian and the venerable Discretory. I decided that Father Fray Férmin Lazuén should go to that mission, so that if the two who were awaiting permission should go, those who had been at San Borja as companions of the ministers of that mission might remain, and if not, they would be at hand for the founding of San Buenaventura or Santa Clara. To this mission, since it had but few working Indians, at the same time that it had good lands and water for irrigating, I decided that six of the families from California and the greater part of the unmarried men should go, with the object of making a good planting of wheat and corn, so that from the crop succor might be given to the first and nearest mission that might be founded.

At the mission of San Luís Obispo the ministers were the father preachers Fray José

Caballer and Fray Domingo Juncosa. The latter was unhappy and desirous of returning to the College, and had written me two letters to tell me so. In the one I received in California he asked me to bring an extra friar, for he had not the spirit to go on. For this reason I decided that Father Fray Ramón Ussón should go there as minister. He had been appointed by the reverend father guardian and the venerable Discretory, and had been in these missions since the month of November. Since they told me in letters that the mission had enough provisions to place some more friars there for the present, not only because of the corn that they were expecting to harvest, but also because of the meat and fish obtained from the heathen, I decided that two supernumeraries should go there. They were Fathers Fray Juan Prestamero and Fray Tomás de la Peña, the latter of whom desired and asked permission to leave San Diego, so that he might be at hand for the new missions that were about to be founded. Being informed that this mission, since it was recently founded, lacked men for the work and the planting, while at the same time it had good lands and an abundance of water, I decided that the three remaining families from California should go and settle there, together with some unmarried men.

At the mission of San Antonio de Pádua there were the father preachers Fray Miguel

Pieras and Fray Buenaventura Sitjar, and I decided that Father Fray José Murguía should go as supernumerary until the founding of the mission of Our Father San Francisco should be effected; and that to the mission of San Carlos de Monterey, where the ministers were the father preachers Fray Juan Crespi and Fray Francisco Dumetz,[99] Father Juncosa should go, in order to be at hand to embark and return to the College. And I decided to go to this same mission, in order to consult with the captain, and also to be near the port for the coming of the ships until the arrival of the reverend father president, who might make some other disposition, not only in regard to me, but also for the rest who had come from California.

Seeing that the messenger from Monterey was delayed, Father Paterna asked me for permission to go ahead to his mission, because he was needed there, and I decided that Fathers Lazuén and Prestamero should also go, taking the California Indians, the rest of us remaining to await the contents of the mail. They did so, setting out on the afternoon of the 5th of September. I then went on to learn the state of the missions, making notes on everything in order to prepare the report required by his Excellency the viceroy. Indeed, I took the same step in all the rest of the missions.*

* His report is in Volume III, pp. 213–238.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE PACK TRAIN ARRIVES FROM MONTEREY. IT IS DESPATCHED TO VELLICATÁ, AND THE REST OF US FRIARS ALSO LEAVE FOR THE NORTH

During the days while we were detained at the mission of San Diego, we went to examine some places in search of a site suitable for planting. Not finding any that could be irrigated, on account of the lack of water, it was decided, as the best means by which the mission might subsist, to make a seasonal sowing of wheat. For this purpose we examined the bank of the river in the same valley of San Diego, about two leagues from the mission, although there was danger that the flood would carry the crops away, for they told us that in that place the rains begin early and last longer than at the mission. On the other hand, in case the rains should be short, it would be possible, with some trouble, to dam up the water of the river. This decided, the fathers at once set a hand to preparing the ground at that place, which is named Nuestra Señora del Pilar.

On the 8th of September, after singing the Mass of Our Lady, I had the happiness, with extraordinary jubilation of my heart, of baptizing eight heathen, and in a few days Father Murguía baptized seven others. All fifteen were from a village named El Rincón, about half a league from the mission, on the road to Monterey.

On the 19th of September the reply of the captain arrived, with all the mules that he could get together from the royal service, and from the three missions of San Carlos, San Antonio, and San Luís. I at once directed Sergeant Ortega to make arrangements with the soldiers who were to escort the pack train. After setting aside the mules necessary for the missionaries to ride, there were found fit to go to Vellicatá twenty-five equipped mules belonging to the missions of San Diego and Monterey, and thirty-four from the royal service of the department of Monterey. These, together with twenty-three belonging to the department of California, made eighty-two pack mules, besides the saddle mules for the muleteers, and those which were for the soldiers.[100] Everything necessary being provided, and the letters being written, they left San Diego on the 22d of September.

I at once prepared to set out for San Gabriel with Fathers Murguía and Peña, and our departure from San Diego took place on the 26th of September in the afternoon. On passing near

the village of El Rincón, where I said the five were from whom we baptized, they came out to greet us. Their salutation consisted of kneeling on the road and intoning the *Alabado,* and it caused us all such emotion that we could not restrain tears of joy, considering that just a few days before they had been only barbarous heathen, and that now like sons of the Holy Church they were praising the Lord in thanksgiving. We gave them a little bag of pinole and some rosaries, and continued on our road, and without having had the least accident we arrived at San Gabriel about ten in the morning of the 2d of October.

We celebrated the day of our Holy Patriarch with all possible ceremony, with a chanted[101] Mass and a sermon. After resting for some days to provide the necessary things for going on, we three fathers named, Father Prestamero, the families of Californians, and the unmarried men destined for San Luís, set out on October 11, in the afternoon, and without the least accident on the whole way we reached the mission of San Luís on the afternoon of the 25th of October. I did not find Father Ramón Ussón there because he had gone to San Antonio, so I at once despatched a messenger to him. He set out on the road and arrived on the 29th. I told him that I had decided that he should remain as minister in place of Father Juncosa, who on my

arrival again begged me to allow him to retire to the College. He replied that he had been for a time in this mission and that it disagreed with his head on account of the constant winds that blew; that he had tried the climate of San Antonio, and it agreed with him much better, for which reason he begged me to allow him to remain in San Antonio. So I was obliged to change my plan, and arranged that Father Murguía should stay with Father Caballer, who was already there, and the two who came with us, Fathers Prestamero and Peña. The California Indians remained also.

I had decided to leave this mission on the afternoon of the 2d of November; but, on the first day of that month, about one in the afternoon, Captain Don Pedro Fages arrived, for as soon as he learned that we had reached this mission he left the royal presidio of Monterey to come to welcome us. On this account we postponed our departure until the 4th, for the purpose of singing the Mass of the day of San Carlos, in order to celebrate the birthday of our holy Catholic monarch. On the afternoon of the day mentioned we three friars set out with the captain, and on the 6th, about eight in the evening, we arrived at the mission of San Antonio de Pádua, where we were welcomed by Fathers Pieras and Sitjar. I tried to make my stay short in order not to cause loss of time to the

captain, and so in all haste I took notes of the state of this mission, and leaving Father Ussón there with the above-mentioned fathers I set out with Father Juncosa, accompanied by the captain, on the afternoon of the 10th.

On the 13th, near nine in the morning, about a league before reaching the royal presidio of Monterey, I met Father Preacher Fray Juan Crespi, who had come from the mission of San Carlos to meet us. The pleasure that I felt on seeing him was great, for we grew up together as children, and studied together almost from our A B C's until we finished theology, and it had now been almost five years since we had seen each other. After we had given renewed expression of our old friendship we continued on our way, and at about ten we arrived at the royal presidio, where we were welcomed by all the artillery and the pealing of bells. On the following day we sang Mass and I made a speech to the men of the camp, expressing my joy at finding myself in their company in these parts, so far from the world, praising[102] them for their great merit in serving God and the King in these new conquests, and exhorting them to set a good example to the neophytes and the heathen, for in that way they would help us to convert their souls to God. I concluded by offering them my poor abilities to serve them as far as they might avail.

CHAPTER XL

WE ARRIVE AT THE MISSION OF SAN CARLOS DE MONTEREY[103]

On this same day, the 14th of November, in the afternoon, we three fathers set out, accompanied by the captain and twelve soldiers and some of the volunteers of the Free Company of Catalonia, and about four in the afternoon we arrived at the last mission of San Carlos, where we were welcomed by Father Preacher Dumetz and all the Indians of the mission, all with demonstrations of joy. I could not contain my pleasure on finding myself now in Monterey, the dream of years, for I can say with perfect truth that not only since the conquest was begun, but even from the year 1750, when I read in Father Torquemada of the voyage of Sebastián Vizcaíno, I was so impressed with the idea of the conversion of the Indians of Monterey that I would have come with greater pleasure to these missions than I felt that same year when obedience sent me to convert the Pame Indians of the Sierra Gorda. And now after so long a time God has been pleased that I should obtain this special favor. I acknowledge it to be for me a

great one, and that I owe Him many thanks for it; and I do thank Him, although inadequately, asking Him for His holy love and grace to work in this vineyard all the days that he may deign to grant me life. I offer them from this time forth for His holy service, and for the welfare and the conversion of these poor souls, redeemed by His precious blood, joyfully pledging my own to Him, if it should be necessary for the reduction and conversion of one single soul, hoping that His Holy Majesty in His infinite compassion will save mine and give it the reward of eternal glory, and asking for me, a poor sinner, the intercession of those that I may succeed in sending to Heaven.

EDITORIAL NOTES

NOTES

[1] The topics treated in chapters I, II, and III of the *Noticias* are covered briefly by Palóu's *Vida* in Chapter XII, where more details are given concerning Serra's activities. The names of his companions are not given there, and nothing is said of the intrusion of the Observants into California, or of the journey of Palóu and Gastón back to Mexico to protest. For the expulsion of the Jesuits, the acceptance of the missions by the Franciscans, their journey to Tepic, their trouble with the Xaliscans, and their journey to California, see Rousseau, François, *Regne de Charles III d'Espagne;* Engelhardt, Fr. Zephyrin, *Missions and Missionaries of California,* I, 270–302; Bancroft, Hubert Howe, *North Mexican States,* I, 476–484; Hittell, Theodore H., *History of California,* I, 247–256. For manuscript materials in Seville, see Chapman, Charles Edward, *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias,* Index under "Jesuits," 739. For manuscript materials in Mexico, see Bolton, Herbert Eugene, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico,* 19, 49, 204, 210, 381, 513.

[2] M. and D.* read "los dos" instead of "los," as it is in the MS.

[3] The disconcerting effect of this change in the orders is set forth in various manuscript letters written at the time. They throw light on other things besides the trouble between the Franciscans and the Xaliscans. Palóu writes from Tepic, "I went down to the monastery and found all of my companions very much grieved and the Observants jubilant over the trick they had played on us." (Serra to the Guardian and the Discretory of the College of San Fernando, Tepic, October 1, 1767). See also Palóu to the Guardian and Discretory, Tepic, October 12, 1767; twelve Fernandinos to the Guardian and Discretory, Tepic, October 12, 1767. (This letter was signed by Fathers Morán, Campa, Sancho, Villaumbrales, Martínez, Ramos de Lora, Gómez, Lasuén, Murguía, Crespi, Gastón, and Parrón); Palóu and Campa to the Guardian and Discretory, Guadalaxara, October 25, 1767. (Transcripts of all the foregoing manuscripts are in the Bancroft Library).

* M. and D. refer respectively to the Mexico edition and the Doyle edition of the *Noticias.*

[4] M. and D. read "Nueva España" in place of "Nueva Vizcaya," which is obviously correct.

[5] Sometimes erroneously given as the 10th.

[6] Portolá entered the harbor of San Bernabé on November 30, 1767. The soldiers, who had imagined that the Jesuit missions were rich, hastened to ransack Mission San José del Cabo, but found little of value except the church ornaments and utensils. At Mission Santiago they met the same disappointment. The silver mines gave no better reward. "As to the great power of the Jesuits, which he was prepared to overcome by force of arms, Portolá was satisfied that a simple letter from the king . . . would have been sufficient to make them abandon the missions, the colleges, and all their possessions." At the presidio of San José del Cabo Portolá relieved Fernando de Rivera y Moncada of his command, and together they went overland to Loreto, where they arrived on December 17. Calling Father Ducrue, the Jesuit visitor, to Loreto, Portolá requested him to order all the Jesuits to make inventories of the mission property, urge the Indians to welcome the Franciscans, and then repair to Loreto. Amid the tears of their neophytes the missionaries complied. Father Retz, who had a broken leg, was carried to Loreto on the backs of Indians. Father Baegert wrote, "I wept not only then, but throughout the journey and even now as I write tears fill my eyes." In spite of the hard life on the barren Peninsula all wished to remain to labor for the Faith (Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, I, 275–276, citing Baegert, *Nachrichten.*)

On February 3, sixteen Jesuits embarked at Loreto on the *Concepción*, escorted by Joseph Lasso. "The soldiers, who had come with Portolá to expel the religious, knelt with the others to kiss the feet of the missionaries." Portolá shed tears, while the natives showed more poignant grief. As the ship sailed away the Jesuits chanted the Litany of Our Lady of Loreto, just seventy years after the founder Salvatierra had raised her standard there. They had a stormy voyage, and had to put in twice at Santa Ana, but on the 9th they arrived safely at San Blas, bringing news that the Observants were still waiting at Cape San Lucas for orders to go up to Loreto by land. From San Blas they were sent on horses and mules across Mexico. On March 27 they reached Vera Cruz and on April 13 they set sail for Europe (Portolá to Croix, Loreto, February 18, 1768, MS.; Engelhardt, I, 278–279, citing Baegert, *Nachrichten*).

Events, especially on the Peninsula, between the arrival of Portolá and that of the Franciscans are set forth in the following unpub-

lished letters, of which there are transcripts in the Bancroft Library: Portolá to the viceroy, two letters, Loreto, February 3, 1768 (reply May 13, 1768); José de Gálvez to Father Palóu, Mexico, February 13, 1768 (annotated: "The first letter which I received at Compostela"); Portolá to the viceroy, Loreto, February 17, 1768; Manuel Rivera Cordero to the viceroy, Tepic, March 2, 1768; the viceroy to Portolá, Mexico, March 5, 1768; list of articles needed at Loreto, addressed by Portolá to the viceroy, Loreto, March 15, 1768; the viceroy to Rivera Cordero, Mexico, March 19, 1768; Portolá to the viceroy, Loreto, March 22, 1768; Rivera Cordero to the viceroy, Tepic, March 26, 1768. For additional manuscript materials in Seville on Portolá's administration of Lower California, see Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials*, Index, under "Portolá." For additional manuscript materials in Mexico, see Bolton, *Guide to . . . Archives of Mexico*, 139, 167, 171, 183.

[7] M. and D. read "Pibero" for "Ribera," and "Taroca" for "Jaroca."

[8] The *Vida* (Chapter XIII) says that they set sail on March 12, having embarked the night before. The incidents about Portolá, Zuzáregui, the disappointment of the Franciscans regarding the temporalities, the distribution of the friars, the agreement concerning prayers for friars who might die in the missions, and the transfer of the missions are all omitted from the *Vida*.

[9] M. and D. add "and was expected from moment to moment."

[10] Events, especially on the Peninsula, from the arrival of the Franciscans to the coming of Gálvez, are revealed in the following unpublished correspondence, of which there are transcripts in the Bancroft Library: Portolá to Croix, two letters, Loreto, April 9, 1768; Croix to Rivera Cordero, Mexico, April 20, 1768; Portolá to Croix, Loreto, April 27, 1768 (with draft of reply, Mexico, July 16, 1768); Croix to Rivera Cordero, Mexico, April 30, 1768; Croix to Portolá, Mexico, April 30, 1768; Portolá to Croix, Loreto, May 14, 1768; Croix to Rivera Cordero, Mexico, May 14, 1768; Croix to Portolá, Mexico, May 20, 1768; Croix to Portolá, Mexico, May 27, 1768; Croix to Julián de Arriaga, Minister of the Indies, Mexico, May 28, 1768; same to same, Mexico, June 18, 1768 (with draft of reply); Juan Manuel de Viniegra and Miguel Joseph de Azanza y Alegría to viceroy Croix, Beach of Cerralvo, California, June 19, 1768; Portolá to Croix, Loreto, June 20, 1768; Miguel del Pino, captain of the *San Antonio* alias *El Príncipe*, Puerto Escondido, California, June 21, 1768 (with declarations by Juan Pérez, pilot of

the *Lauretana,* Miguel Navarro, pilot of the *San Carlos,* and Mateo Beles, boatswain of the *San Carlos*); Croix to Portolá, Mexico, July 8, 1768. Additional manuscript materials are cited in Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials,* 178–180; Bolton, *Guide to . . . Archives of Mexico* (see Index, under "California Baja" and other appropriate headings). The distribution of the missionaries among the Franciscans is treated in Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* I, 303–307; Bancroft, *North Mexican States,* I, 484.

[11] The subject matter of this chapter and the next is omitted almost entirely from the *Vida.* For the work of Gálvez in California see Priestley, Herbert Ingram, *José de Gálvez, Visitor-General of New Spain (1765–1771)*, chapter VII. This chapter is based largely on manuscript materials in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, Spain, which are cited in his footnotes, and of which transcripts are in the Bancroft Library. Another solid contribution on the work of Gálvez is made by Chapman, Charles Edward, *The Founding of Spanish California* (New York, 1916), chapter IV, pp. 68–91. This work is based entirely on manuscript materials, chiefly in Seville. The same ground is covered by Chapman in his *History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York, 1921), chapters XVI and XVII.

On December 31, 1771, Gálvez made a general report of his work in California, entitled *Informe General que en virtud de real órden instruyó y entregó el Excmo. Sr. Marqués de Sonora, siendo visitador general de este reyno al Excmo. Sr. Virrey Frey D. Antonio Bucarely y Ursua.* Other sources for Gálvez's work are cited in Bancroft, *North Mexican States,* I, xxix.

[12] M. and D. omit the rest of this paragraph and the first three lines of the next.

[13] Events, particularly on the Peninsula, from the arrival of Gálvez to his meeting with Father Serra, are illuminated by the following unpublished documents, transcripts of which are in the Bancroft Library: Portolá to the viceroy, Loreto, July 9, 1768; same to same, Loreto, July 10, 1768; José de Gálvez to Father Serra, camp of Santa Ana, July 12, 1768 (he had already written to Serra on the 5th); Croix to Viniegra and Azanza, Mexico, July 29, 1768; Croix to Julián de Arriaga, in Spain, Mexico, July 30, 1768; Gálvez to Serra, Santa Ana, August 13, 1768; same to same, the same date, marked "confidential." (He hopes that Serra will not make the land journey to Monterey unless his health improves, and he "will never agree" to let Serra go by sea); same to same, undated, but apparently of the foregoing date; Gálvez to Rivera y Moncada, trans-

mitting instructions for the land expedition, Santa Ana, August 20, 1768; Gálvez to Rivera y Moncada, instructions for the land expedition, Santa Ana, August 20, 1768 (with a postscript by Gálvez dated at La Paz, April 4, 1769; both enclosed in letter of April 26, 1769). Portolá to Croix, two letters, August 24, 1768; Blas Fernández Somera, receipt to Portolá, Loreto, August 24, 1768; Portolá to Croix, undated; Mateo Adolpho Talinbock to Croix, Santa Ana, California, August 2, 1768; Gálvez to Serra, Santa Ana, September 15, 1768 (he writes of the soldier commissioners: "I am expecting them from one day to another to inform me that they are in La Paz with the villages of the Israelites, in order to take the lepers from the mission of Pilar and join them to those of Santiago, who are the same." In the same letter he makes an interesting comment on the name of San Francisco for a mission in Upper California); Gálvez to Serra, Santa Ana, October 7, 1768; same to same, Santa Ana, October 11, 1768; Julián de Arriaga to Croix, San Lorenzo, Spain, October 18, 1768; Gálvez to Serra, Santa Ana, October 22, 1768 ("joyful to hear that your Reverence has decided to come here. . . . Since there are no women here, all of us men can accommodate ourselves in the rooms of the houses now belonging to the king and those of the sons of San Francisco"); Croix to Talinbock, Mexico, October 22, 1768; Croix to Portolá, Mexico, October 22, 1768; Gálvez to Palóu, Santa Ana, October 31, 1768; "General Report" of the California Missions, by Serra, Santa Ana, November 3, 1768, made while on his visit to confer with Gálvez. Additional manuscript materials are indicated in Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials,* 180–189; Bolton, *Guide to. . . Archives of Mexico* (see Index under "Gálvez," "Serra," "Palóu," "California Baja," and other appropriate headings). The coming of Gálvez and his relations with the missionaries down to the conference with Serra are treated in Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* I, 308–331; Bancroft, *North Mexican States,* I, 485–488. Richman, Irving Berdine, *California under Spain and Mexico* (Boston, 1911), pp. 64–77.

[14] M. and D. change "muchos" to "cada una."

[15] M. and D. read "ranchos" for "rancheros."

[16] The *Vida,* Chapter XIII, gives additional details concerning Serra's journey to Santa Ana and his conference with Gálvez.

[17] M. and D. add "á lo mas."

[18] M. and D. read "demas" for "dos."

[19] Events, especially on the Peninsula, between the arrival of Serra at Santa Ana (October 31, 1768), and the sailing of the *San*

Carlos for San Diego, January 9, 1769, are illuminated by the following unpublished documents, transcripts of which are in the Bancroft Library: Gálvez to Serra, November 12, 1768 (the *San Carlos* is at Cape San Lucas; he has ordered it to hasten to La Paz, "bearing in mind that while the packet is coming you can come without haste by your regular days' marches"); Croix to Portolá, Mexico, November 19, 1768; Instructions by Gálvez to all the missionaries of California to hold special services every Saturday in honor of María Santísima de Loreto, patroness of the California missions, and special Mass in honor of San José on the 19th of every month during the California expeditions, La Paz, November 21, 1768; Gálvez to Father Fray Dionisio Bastera, at Santa Gertrudis, La Paz, November 23, 1768 (he complains of the Jesuits, explains his plans, tells of the coming of the French astronomers, and asks what is needed to "cover the nakedness" of the Indians of Santa Gertrudis); Julián de Arriaga to Croix, Madrid, December 22, 1768; Gálvez to Serra, La Paz, December 28, 1768 (he tells of the careening of the *San Carlos* for the San Diego expedition; plans for its sailing; he has arranged that Father Fernando Parrón shall go with it; he adds this instruction to Father Serra: "See that the chickens for which I am asking Father Ramos come properly crated, so that they will not suffocate, for not one of them must be sick"); chart of officers and crew of the packet *San José.* Additional manuscript materials are cited in Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials,* 190–191; Bolton, *Guide to . . . Archives of Mexico* (see Index under "Gálvez," "California Baja," and other appropriate headings). Events on the Peninsula between the journey of Serra to Santa Ana and the sailing of the *San Carlos* are treated in Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* I, 332–337; Bancroft, *North Mexican States,* I, 489–490; Chapman, *Founding of Spanish California,* Chapter IV; Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico,* Chapter V.

[20] M. and D. read "Fue plaso del" for "Fue de paso el."

[21] The subjects dealt with in Chapters IX, X, and XI of the *Noticias* are very briefly treated in the *Vida,* Chapter XIV. The troubles of the Franciscans with the Dominicans and Governor Barry are treated at length in later chapters of this work.

[22] The equipment and departure of the Monterey expeditions and events in Old California down to the sailing of Gálvez on May 1, are illuminated by the following letters, of which there are transcripts in the Bancroft Library: Miguel Costansó to Croix, La Paz, January 4, 1769 (about to start for Monterey); Gálvez to Palóu, La Paz,

January 9, 1769 (the *San Carlos* sails today. "*Oratio brevis,* for business is infinite, and my fires increase in proportion to my difficulties." Father Serra blessed the packet and flags, and "afterward preached the worst of all"); Gálvez to Serra, Cape San Lucas, January 26, 1769 (the packet *San Carlos* is a famous sailor. "Your Reverence may now compare this fact, which everybody saw with surprise, with the infamous lies told about the packet, which is without exaggeration one of the best barks that the king has in all his fleets"; indeed, "they say she deserves to be enchased in gold." "The *San Antonio* promises to sail in as good condition as the others, with the blessings of heaven"); Gálvez to Palóu, Cape San Lucas, February 20, 1769 (the *San Antonio* sailed on the 15th "with even more provisions than the *San Carlos.*" "There was a burlesque sermon as at La Paz, which, being a new thing for the padres, caused them to sob, and snivel, and sigh. . . . Owing to my preachings they will say that in the Californias the comedy of the Devil Preacher was performed, but I shall laugh heartily that they call me so, if we succeed in accomplishing the holy purpose of our undertaking." Rivera must already be at San Diego); Gálvez to Portolá, Cape San Lucas, February 20, 1769; instructions to Portolá for the second land expedition; Francisco López and Domingo del Barco, to Croix, Guadalaxara, February 21, 1769, concerning funds for Gálvez (with reply March 17, 1769); Gálvez to Serra, Cape San Lucas, February 22, 1769 (no doubt the *San Antonio* is in San Diego by now, "for the southwest winds . . . still continue"; if so Father Crespi is "laboring *ultra vires,* for not all are Turk visitors such as I"; Gálvez is now sorry that Serra did not go with one of the vessels; Palóu is ill at San Xavier; Gálvez is sending instructions to Portolá); Croix to Costansó, Mexico, March 11, 1769; Croix to Fages, Mexico, March 11, 1769; Croix to Julián de Arriaga, Mexico, March 17, 1769 (enclosing reports from Gálvez; the astronomers are on their way); Francisco López and Domingo del Barco, Guadalaxara, March 28, 1769 (need of funds for Gálvez); Gálvez to Serra La Paz, March 28, 1769 (he does not believe the Dominicans have demanded a place in California, and "even though it were true your Reverence need not fear that they will accomplish it. . . . Calm your mind, then, Your Reverence." Gálvez regrets the delay of Rivera in starting); Gálvez to Serra, La Paz, March 28, 1769 ("I am fatigued, and your Reverence must also be worn out, even ill, being a poor horseman for such a long journey. . . . The temerity of your Reverence is very great in having started on such a long journey with your foot inflamed"); Gálvez to Croix, La Paz, April 4, 1769,

enclosed with letter of April 26, 1769 ("I find it necessary to have myself bled. . . . The truth is I am not well"; Portolá left Loreto for San Diego on March 8; Gálvez is enclosing copies of instructions to Rivera and Portolá); Croix to Gálvez, Mexico, April 10, 1769 (Armona left the capital this morning to hasten to the Peninsula); Gálvez to Palóu, La Paz, April 10, 1769 (requests Palóu to give his horse "two feedings a day of a quart of corn each, which is his ration"); Gálvez to Palóu, La Paz, April 13, 1769 (intends to sail for Loreto to-morrow); Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, April 26 (the astronomers are on the way; encloses letters from California). Additional manuscript materials are cited in Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials,* 197–204; Bolton, *Guide to . . . Archives of Mexico* (see Index under appropriate headings). Events in California from the sailing of the *San Carlos* to the departure of Gálvez, May 1, are covered by Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* I, 337–368; Bancroft, *North Mexican States,* I, 489–490, 692–693; Hittell, *History of California,* I, 307–315; Chapman, *Founding of Spanish California,* Chapter IV; Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico,* Chapter V.

[23] The *Vida* scarcely touches the subjects treated here in Chapters XII to XL inclusive, excepting Chapters XX and XXXI.

[24] M. and D. read "nueva" for "buena."

[25] M. and D. here and generally elsewhere read "Munguía" for "Murguía."

[26] M. and D. omit a line here. "Las velas de sevo que estaban a seis pesos arroba las vajó a veinte y dos reales."

[27] Events, especially in Lower California, after the departure of Gálvez, are reflected in the following unpublished correspondence, of which there are transcripts in the Bancroft Library: Gálvez to Palóu, Bay of Santa Bárbara, Sonora, May 9, 1769 (difficulties of the voyage from California; the *San José* must hasten to San Diego; Palóu must have everything ready; the astronomers must now be on the Peninsula); Gálvez to Fray Juan Andrés, guardian of the College of San Fernando, Alamos, Sonora, June 8, 1769; Gálvez to the royal officials at Guadalaxara, Alamos, Sonora, June 8, 1769 (concerning finances of the Californias; with reply of July 4, 1769); Gálvez to Croix, Alamos, June 10, 1769 (expresses his opinion of Father Iriarte's request for a place in California for the Dominicans. This letter is printed in the *Noticias*); Gálvez to Croix, Alamos, June 10, 1769 (recommends more pay for Governor Armona); Lorenzo Cancio to Croix, Torín, on Yaqui River, July 16, 1769; Joachín

Velásqquez de León, Santa Ana, July 28, 1769; Croix to royal officials of Guadalaxara, Mexico, July 29, 1769; Croix to Gálvez, Mexico, August 5, 1769; Talinbock to Croix, Guadalaxara, August 29, 1769; Armona to Croix, Alamos, August 29, 1769; Gálvez to Croix, Alamos, August 29, 1769; Gálvez to Palóu, Alamos, September 3, 1769; Croix to Talinbock, Mexico, September 9, 1769; Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, September 27, 1769; Velásquez de León to Croix, Santa Ana, September 28, 1769; Francisco Trillo y Vermúdez to Croix, San Blas, October 17, 1769; Trillo y Vermúdez to Croix, Santa Ana, October 26, 1769 (reply, November 13, 1769); Croix to Velásquez de León, Mexico, November 11, 1769; Palóu to Fr. Juan Andrés, Loreto, November 24, 1769 (a long report on affairs of the Peninsula and the San Diego expedition, from the arrival of the Franciscans in California in April, 1769. Fifty numbered paragraphs. Much of this report is incorporated in the *Noticias*); Croix to Velásquez, Mexico, December 12, 1769. Croix to Arrillaga, Mexico, December 20, 1769 (a full report on Gálvez's illness); Croix to the comandante of San Blas, Mexico, December 23, 1769 (affairs of deceased Francisco Ley); Croix to Trillo y Vermúdez, Mexico, December 23, 1769; Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, December 31 (concerning the illness of Gálvez); a paper that contributes "to proving the bad conduct of Don Joaquín Velásquez" sub-delegate of Gálvez in California. Undated (mining is neglected; "continuous jollification and fandango" in the government houses; "gambling at cards" by which Osio lost $12,000 and Pisón $5,000; failure to observe Lent); "Notes of August, 1769" on the Sonora expedition. Additional manuscript materials are cited in Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials,* 204–230; Bolton, *Guide to . . . Archives of Mexico* (see Index under appropriate headings). Events in Lower California from the departure of Gálvez to the second coming of Armona, including Fr. Ramos's journey to Mexico, are treated in Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* I, 369–378.

[28] For the work of the academicians, see: *Voyage en Californie pour l'observation du passage de Venus sur le disque du Soleil, le 3 Juin 1769; Contenant les observations de ce phénomène, & la description historique de la route de l'auteur à travers le Mexique. Par feu M. Chappe d'Auteroche de l'Académie,* etc. *Rédigé & publié par M. de Cassini, fils, de la même Academie,* etc. Paris, 1772. 4to; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.,* 2d ed., iv, 100–104; *United States Coast Survey, Rept.,* 1874, 131–132. See also Bancroft, *North Mexican States,* I, 694.

[29] M. and D. read "erroneos" in place of "suvrreticias," a corruption of "subrepticias."

30 For Old California, from January, 1770, to the return of Armona see the following unpublished letters (copies in the Bancroft Library): Palóu to Fr. Juan Andrés, guardian of San Fernando, Loreto, January 10, 1770 (a long report, 66 numbered paragraphs, telling of the drain on Old California caused by the Monterey expedition); same to same, Loreto, January 23, 1770 (needy state of the missions because of the withdrawal of the subsidy); same to same, Loreto, March 16 ("fourteen points" to be presented to the viceroy); Croix to Joaquín Velásquez and the acting governor, Mexico, May 20, 1770 (requesting them to remain in office till Armona arrives).

Armona's administration in Lower California after his return in June, 1770, is illuminated by a file of his correspondence in the Depósito Hidrográfico de Madrid (copy in the Bancroft Library), entitled "Correspondencia Oficial del Virey D.n Matías de Armona con su antecesor y con otros subalternos en el año 1770 en la Peninsula de California." This contains the following items: Joachín Velásquez de León, "Quenta y razon de costos y productos," Santa Ana, June 16–December 24, 1770; Antonio de Ozio to Armona, San Antonio, June 16, 1770; Manuel García Morales to Armona, Santa Ana, June 17, 1770; Manuel de Ozío to Armona, June 18, 1770; Bernardo Moreno y Castro to Armona, Santa Ana, June 18, 1770; Fr. Juan Ramos de Lora to Armona, June 22, 1770; Armona and Joachín Velásquez de León to Croix, Santa Ana, June 30, 1770; Ysídro de Ybarzábal to Armona, Santa Ana, July 6, 1770; Palóu to Armona, Santa Ana, Rancho de Yréve, July 20, 1770; Joachín Cañete to Armona, Santa Ana, July, 1770; Gaspar Pessón y Guzmán to Armona, Puerto de la Valaozan, August 30, 1770; Ybarzábal to Armona, September 3, 1770; Velásquez de León to Armona, Santa Ana, October 17, 1770; Ybarzábal to Armona, Santa Ana, September 3, 1770; Moreno y Castro to Armona, Santa Ana, October 23, 1770; Moreno y Castro and García Morales to Armona, Santa Ana, October 24, 1770; Armona to Croix, Mexico, December 24, 1770.

Other unpublished documents on the period (in the Bancroft Library) are the following: Opinions of the Council of the Indies concerning the request of Father Iriarte for a place in California for the Dominicans. Madrid, July 12, 1770 (summarizes the Dominican question); the Guardian and Discretory to Croix, Mexico, July 26, 1770 (requesting reforms in Old California; complaining of the drain on the old missions by the Monterey expeditions; need of larger sínodos. The petition contains ten numbered points); Armona to

Palóu, Santa Ana, August 14, 1770 (seven "encargos" with regard to the missions of Old California); Palóu to Armona, Santa Ana, August 14, 1770 (reply to the seven "encargos"; Palóu to Andrés, August 15, 1770 (extract); Palóu to Armona, Loreto, October 6, 1770 (tells of the bad state of the missions because of the plague of locusts; describes various missions); Palóu to Andrés, October 10 (extract); Gálvez to Palóu, Mexico, November 9, 1770 (requests him to send him some of the finest pearls obtainable, for the Princess of Asturias. Croix to Armona, Mexico, November 12, 1770 (he has granted Armona's request to be relieved, and appointed Barry governor in his place); Gálvez to Croix, Mexico, November 12 ,1770 (various affairs of Old and New California; is sending a fine vestment for the church at Loreto); the Archbishop of Mexico to Casafonda, Mexico, December 22, 1770.

Additional manuscript materials are cited in Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials,* 230–242; Bolton, *Guide to . . . Archives of Mexico,* 25, 58, 139, 168, 171, 172, 197, and Index, under appropriate headings. Armona's administration is covered by Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* I, 377–387 (in these pages are inserted a translation of Fr. Basterra's memorial, given here in the *Noticias,* Chapter XVIII); Bancroft, *North Mexican States,* I, 698–699.

[31] M. and D. add "de S. E. que trajo una canoa que." This completes the sense of the passage which otherwise is not clear.

[32] In this document Doyle several times reads "Su Señoría Ylustrísima" in place of "V. Ylustrísima."

[33] D. omits "ó camino para el."

[34] M. and D. read "menores" for "meros."

[35] M. and D read "almacenes" for "alcances."

[36] The Figueroa MS. misnumbers the rest of the paragraphs, the mistake being due to running points 10 and 11 in the same paragraph, causing no. 11 to be overlooked in numbering.

[37] The subjects treated here in Chapter XX are discussed briefly in the *Vida,* Chapters XXIV and XXV. The names of the friars are not given there. Father Verger, the guardian, voiced his protest against the drafting of the missionaries in a letter to the royal fiscal, Casafonda, Mexico, August 3, 1771. MS. in the Bancroft Library. Manuscript letters (in the Bancroft Library) for Old California affairs in 1771 are: Guardian Verger to Casafonda (royal fiscal in Madrid), Mexico, August 22, 1771; same to same, August 27, 1771 (the New California expeditions are of doubtful wisdom); same to

same, August 28 (the California missions were begun by Gálvez "for show," "shadows without any real foundation"; they need better support); same to same, September 27, 1771 (he hopes the Dominicans will take over part of the Peninsular missions; "San Diego is a port in the real meaning of the term"; comments on pearl fisheries and salt works of Old California); same to same, January 23, 1772.

[38] "Pimería" in the text should be of course "Pamería," the country of the Pames, a principal tribe of the Sierra Gorda.

[39] Manuscript materials in the archives of Mexico concerning Barry's administration are cited in Bolton, *Guide to the Archives of Mexico,* pp. 46, 69, 118, 119, 128, 151, 168. Additional manuscript materials are cited in Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials,* 242–294. Barry's administration is covered by Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* I, 387–419. The memorial of December 23, 1771 (given here in Chapter XXIV) is reproduced by Engelhardt in full. See also Bancroft, *North Mexican States,* I, 690–703.

[40] M. and D. change "conservación" to "conversión."

[41] The difficulties of this voyage are treated in the *Vida,* Chapter XXV.

[42] M. and D. read "había" for "hacía."

[43] M. and D. change "los demas vieron la prisión" to "vinieron los demas de la prisión."

[44] M. and D. omit "lo agarró."

[45] M. and D. vary the phrasing here without essential change of meaning.

[46] These measures, which concerned New California as well as Old, are not treated in detail in the *Vida.*

[47] M. and D. read "me dijo" for "medio."

[48] M. and D. omit "Benito." The Figueroa MS. has it, but by oversight it was omitted from the text.

[49] M. and D. change "bucear" to "buscar."

[50] D. mixes the numbering of these points, assigning seven instead of eight numbers. M. does not number them.

[51] M. and D. change "venerado" to "verdadero."

[52] Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* I, 420–459, gives nearly in full Palŏu's report of 1772. See also Bancroft, *North Mexican States,* I, 702–703. Bolton, *Guide to . . . the Archives of Mexico,* p. 118, cites "Censuses (*padrones*) and reports of the missions of California Antigua, 1774." They fill 100 folios.

[53] M. and D. read "ministro" instead of "misionero."

[54] M. and D. change "sesenta" to "setenta."

[55] M. and D. read "dicha mision" for "dichas minas."

[56] M. and D. omit some words here.

[57] M. and D. read "northeast" instead of "northwest."

[58] D. reads "1713."

[59] D. reads "sixty-six."

[60] A phrase is omitted by the Figueroa MS. here.

[61] Figueroa reads "quiebran" where M. and D. have "quitaban."

[62] D. omits "quarenta y sietc cabezas y de pelo seiscientas."

[63] M. and D. omit "ciento."

[64] D. gives 166 persons for San Juan in this paragraph. M. agrees with the MS.

[65] M. and D. read "cien," which is clearly a mistake for "cinco," for that is about the distance of Mission Santa María from the Bay of San Luís. Doyle (*Noticias*, I, 179) has a note on the location of Santa María that is quite misleading. Engelhardt renders the passage "one hundred miles," and adds a note on an article by North (*Sunset Magazine*, December, 1906, p. 154), but does not straighten out the matter. By interpreting "cien" as "cinco" the whole matter is cleared up.

[66] D. reads "setenta" instead of "sesenta." Above Palóu gives the distance as forty leagues, but here he says sixty.

[67] D. omits "San Diego."

[68] M. and D. add "la renuncia a lo menos que." This does not change the meaning.

[69] M. and D. change the wording here slightly.

[70] The Figueroa MS. reads "1713," which seems to be an error.

[71] The petition of the Dominicans for a place in California is treated in a file of papers entitled "Fr. Juan de Dios Córdova. Pide permiso para que Fr. Juan P. Yriarte y Laurnaga, Dominico, emprenda mision. January 17, 1770." With this petition are filed the resulting correspondence and acts of government, including the *nómina* of the twenty-eight Dominicans enlisted for California (transcript in the Bancroft Library). Manuscript materials in Spain are cited in Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials* (see Index under "Iriarte y Laurnaga," and "Dominicans," and follow the list of documents in chronological order for the years 1768–1772). For additional manuscripts in Mexico see Bolton, *Guide to . . . Archives of Mexico*,

Index, under "Iriarte," "Dominicans," "California Baja," etc. The renunciaton of the Peninsula by the Franciscans and its assignment to the Dominicans are treated by Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* I, 459, 471. On pp. 465–468 he quotes the concordat in full (given here in Chapter XXX). See also Bancroft, *North Mexican States,* I, 703–707; Chapman, *Founding of Spanish California,* 115–119, and index under "Dominicans"; Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico,* 90–91.

[72] Engelhardt recounts the arrival of the Dominicans, the transfer of the missions, the withdrawal of the Franciscans, and the later Franciscan difficulties with Governor Barry, in *Missions and Missionaries,* I, 472–485. See also Bancroft, *North Mexican States,* I, 707–713.

[73] This letter is printed in the *Vida,* Chapter XXXIV. There are numerous differences between the two texts.

[74] The Figueroa MS. reads "con la ocasión de hallarse aorras se me parece mui conveniente." M. and D. read "con la ocasión de hallarse sin necesidad de tales medidas de economías por lo contrario lo creo de urgente necesidad."

[75] D. omits "seis religiosos de los Nuestros que fueron."

[76] M. and D. change the phrasing here.

[77] M. and D. change "havian de" to "acababan," which is quite different.

[78] D. omits "sobrantes y estuvieron."

[79] M. and D. omit "de los misioneros."

[80] M. and D. read "2709 pesos" instead of "2069 pesos."

[81] M. and D. omit "ni vestido."

[82] M. and D. change "destierro" to "destino."

[83] M. and D. read "presidente" for "predicador."

[84] Engelhardt discusses the trouble over the packs of goods and the cattle, Palóu's departure for San Diego, and the marking of the boundary line between Franciscans and Dominicans, in *Missions and Missionaries,* I, 486–509. M. and D. omit "folio sixty-four."

[85] The Figueroa MS. reads "son tan faciles en mudar de parecer," where M. and D. read "eran en efecto faciles en cambio de parecer."

[86] M. and D. omit two lines here.

[87] June 17 in D. and October 9 in M.

[88] D. reads June 19.

[89] M. reads June 17 and D. reads June 22.

[90] M. and D. change "dos reverendos padres Dominicos" to "dos religiosos."

[91] D. reads 23d.

[92] M. and D. change "suponiendo" to "suspendiendolo por."

[93] M. and D. change "havios" to "navios," making very different sense.

[94] M. and D. change "havios" to "navios."

[95] M. and D. add "de ellas," making the sense "their" instead of "the."

[96] "Los Médanos" in M. and D.

[97] M. and D. omit "de San Diego."

[98] The Figueroa MS., M. and D. all have "San Xavier" instead of "San Gabriel," which is obviously intended.

[99] Dumet and Dumetz are used interchangeably in the texts. I have adopted Dumetz, the correct form.

[100] M. and D. omit "al servicio de."

[101] M. and D. omit "cantada."

[102] D. omits "presente."

[103] M. and D. change "llegamos" to "llegué."

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